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THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological and Natural History

MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY, A.D. 1853.

VOL. XIX.

DEVIZES:
H. F. BULL, 4, Saint John Street.

1881.

The Editor of the *Wiltshire Magazine* desires that it should be distinctly understood that neither he nor the Committee of the *Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society* hold themselves in any way answerable for any statements or opinions expressed in the Magazine; for all of which the Authors of the several papers and communications are alone responsible.

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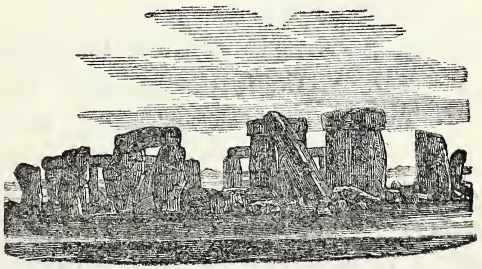
A.D. 1853.



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NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year*, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. William Nott, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. Smith, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and C. H. Talbot, Esq., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham.

The Rev. A. C. Smith will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

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THE

WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE Wiltshire Archæological & Natural History Society, HELD AT MARLBOROUGH,

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, August 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1879.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF AILESBURY.

ON Tuesday, August 12th, the Society assembled for its twenty-fifth Annual Meeting,[1] at the Town Hall, Marlborough, an interval of no less than twenty years having elapsed since its last visit to that town.

The chair was taken at half-past two o'clock by the President of the Meeting, The Most Honourable The Marquis of Ailesbury, who opened the proceedings by welcoming the Society to Marlborough, and expressing the pleasure he experienced in performing the duty allotted to him, though he wished it had fallen to the lot of some one better acquainted than he was with the subjects which came under the cognizance of their association. He did not pretend to have any knowledge whatever of archæology; and he only accepted the office of President of the Meeting in furtherance of the duty which he owed to his neighbours and friends. He congratulated them upon the joyful day on which they had met. The weather appeared to be the subject of constant discussion on every occasion, and

[1] In preparing this account of the Marlborough Meeting the Editor desires to acknowledge the assistance he has derived from the columns of the *Marlborough Times*, and the *Devizes Gazette*.

probably it was a subject that had been more discussed this year than at any time that they could remember. He was glad that it was now so favourable, and that there was every reason to hope they would have a fine week. He would not detain them any longer, but call upon those whose duty it was to bring the business of the Meeting before them. He must, however, congratulate them on their visit to Marlborough, and assure them that it gave him great pleasure to meet them again after an absence of twenty years. The Noble Lord then called upon the Rev. A. C. Smith (one of the General Secretaries) to read the

REPORT.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society desires to offer a very brief report of the proceedings of the Society during the past twelvemonths: for it may be conceded that the drawing up of the annual report of a Society whose course has been marked by uniform prosperity, from its formation in 1853 to the present time, however pleasurable it may be in a certain sense, is not an easy task. Year after year the Committee has had the satisfaction of congratulating themselves and the Members on the success of their proceedings, and on that entire cordiality and agreement which have been throughout maintained. Hence the monotonous character of these reports seems unavoidable.

"As regards the *Number of Members*, the names now on our books amount to 380, being a slight increase since this time last year; as though several old and valued friends have passed away, or have left the county, or retired from the Society during the period, there has been more than an equal number of admissions to fill up the vacancies. Among those whose loss we deplore, special mention should be made of the Rev. George Stallard, Vicar of East Grafton, and the Rev. Henry Hall, Rector of Semley, both of whom were very early Members of our Society.

"In regard to *Finance*, the balance sheet of the Society for the past year has been so lately printed in the *Magazine* that there is no occasion to enter into particulars: enough that our financial position is practically about the same as it was when the last report

was read, at which time the balance in hand was announced as about £152.

"The *Magazine* has been continued so far as the funds available for publication would allow; and two numbers have been issued since this time last year; it is hoped with no decline of interesting material. Another number is in progress, and will be published in the course of the autumn.

"The *Museum* has received many valuable additions during the past twelvemonths; among which should specially be mentioned a large collection of Roman-British specimens of pottery, and metal vases and implements excavated at Westbury, through the exertions of Mr. Anderson, of the iron works.

"The *Library* has been enriched by a gift from the Rev. Canon Cleather, Vicar of Aldbourne, of an admirable copy of Andrewes and Dury's Map of Wiltshire, in a series of sheets, bound together in one volume.

"It is unnecessary to enter into further details of the work and progress of the Society. Your Committee would only add their best thanks for the help accorded to them in many quarters; while they express an earnest hope that throughout the county regard will be had to the preservation of all objects of interest, whether in the field of Archæology or of Natural History; and invite communication on any discovery which may be made. At the same time they beg most emphatically to declare that so far from having exhausted the objects, for the investigation of which this Society was formed (as some have rashly surmised), they have as yet but made a beginning in the vast field before them, and merely disclosed a fraction of the almost inexhaustible treasures which the County of Wilts, on its downs and in its vales, above all other counties, contains."

Sir John Lubbock said it devolved upon him as President of the Society, to have the agreeable duty of moving the adoption of the report, and he congratulated the members on the flourishing state of the Society, which was due in such a great measure to the exertions of the officers, and especially the indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Smith. He thought when they examined the programmes issued and the maps prepared that they might look forward to a

very pleasant meeting this year also—and in that respect the officers of the Society were entitled to great credit, and above all things perhaps for the admirable manner in which, in spite of great difficulties, they had provided them with such beautiful weather.

Mr. C. Penruddocke seconded the report, which was adopted.

The Rev. A. C. Smith reminded the Members that at the end of the year they would lose the services of their present President, his term of office having expired, and he was sure everybody must regret it, as it was impossible there could be a better President than Sir John Lubbock. However, he had the honor of proposing a very worthy successor—subject to his consent, for he was now absent from England—in Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, who he was certain would preside over them (if he could be prevailed upon to accept the office) to their satisfaction. He moved that Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice be elected President for the three years 1880—2 both inclusive.

The Rev. H. A. Olivier seconded the proposition, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Cunnington proposed the re-election of the General Secretaries (the Rev. A. C. Smith and C. H. Talbot, Esq.), the General Curators, the Local Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Auditors, and the Committee, substituting in the latter the name of the Rev. W. P. S. Bingham, Berwick Bassett, for that of the Rev. Canon Warre, who wished to retire.

The Rev. Canon Jackson seconded the proposition, and it was adopted.

Lord Ailesbury then called upon Canon Jackson to read his paper on "Savernake Forest," which was listened to with great interest, but need not be further mentioned here, as it will be printed in a future page of the *Magazine*.

The Noble Chairman, on the conclusion of the paper, rose to propose a vote of thanks to Canon Jackson. He was sure he was only expressing the feeling of all when he assured Mr. Jackson how greatly delighted they had been by listening to his very instructive paper. His Lordship said he felt keenly alive to the duty of preserving intact all the interesting memorials on the property

which had, by the will of Providence, come under his control.

Lord Charles Bruce, M.P., in seconding the vote of thanks, said, that Canon Jackson had told them a great deal that was new as well as much that was really interesting. As they were aware, the greater part of his own life had been associated with the forest, and he would just allude to one or two points on which the Canon had touched in his address. The first remark he would make had reference to the interesting tenure horn which Mr. Jackson had mentioned. There was a curious incident connected with it in which his grandfather was concerned. In his time the King came and paid a visit to Savernake House, and stayed two or three days; and just as His Majesty was going away his grandfather expressed the hope that he was pleased with his entertainment. The King assured him that he was exceedingly pleased with everything, but he had omitted to discharge a rather important duty. Perhaps he was not aware, the King told him, that his property would pass immediately into the hands of the Crown if he did not discharge the duty. His grandfather on hearing this was thrown into a state of great trepidation and enquired what the duty was. "You have forgotten," the King replied, "to blow your tenure horn. When a King of England comes here and that horn is not blown, your property becomes forfeited to the Crown." His grandfather lost no time in discharging the duty, and fortunately the estate still remained in the hands of his descendants. Canon Jackson had spoken of the air of mystery which hung about Savernake Forest, and this had reminded him of an incident which occurred to his father. He had occasion to go down to meet the coach, and after it had come within ear-shot it suddenly stopped. He heard a gun fired, which he thought a very mysterious circumstance. After a while the coach drove up when the only two persons were the driver and guard. He concluded that a highway robbery had been committed, and made inquiries, but learnt nothing. He caused the coach to be searched, when he found one of his fine bucks stowed away out of sight, and thus the coachman and guard were detected in their misdeed. He concluded by seconding the vote of thanks to Canon Jackson.

It is needless to say that the vote of thanks was carried unanimously.

This concluded the meeting, and the visitors then proceeded to inspect the different objects of interest in the town, being much aided therein by fly-leaves compiled with much care suggesting the most notable objects. The Church of St. Mary, with its ancient Norman doorway date about 1150; the Church of St. Peter, with its tower 116 feet high, erected early in the fifteenth century, and containing monuments of Lord Chief Justice Hyde, &c.; Preshute Church, dedicated to St. George, with its famous font, and a brass dated 1518; and also the College, the "Old House" (formerly the Castle Hotel) which was previously for about one hundred years the seat of the Seymour family, built *circ.* 1640, by Francis Lord Seymour, upon the site of Marlborough Castle.

Last, but by no means least, the Temporary Museum which had been arranged by the indefatigable zeal of the Rev. T. A. Preston and his able colleagues: but indeed there must have been many busy workers and many nimble fingers engaged in collecting and arranging such stores of archæological and natural history specimens as filled the "Upper School," which had been kindly granted by the College authorities for that purpose.

THE DINNER

took place at the Town Hall; about one hundred ladies and gentlemen attended, the President of the Meeting (the Marquis of Ailesbury) in the chair.

After the usual loyal toasts, the health of the Bishop and Clergy was given by Lord Charles Bruce, and acknowledged by the Rev. C. A. Houghton, Rector of St. Peter's. The Army, Navy, and Auxiliary Forces was proposed by Mr. W. L. Rogers, and responded to by Lord Henry Bruce and Major Merriman. In proposing the health of the Lord Lieutenant and Magistrates of the County, Canon Jackson remarked that the Lord Lieutenant and Magistrates had always been great patrons of their Society. Their very first patron was old Lord Lansdowne (the grandfather of their present patron) who took the chair twenty-six years ago at Devizes, when the Society was inaugurated, and he always supported it very heartily. His Lordship was not only Lord Lieutenant, but he was

Custos Rotulorum. He was on one occasion visiting at Bowood, when, having an eye to business, he reminded His Lordship that he was not only Lord Lieutenant but Custos Rotulorum, which meant Keeper of the Rolls, and so he said, "Would you allow me to see any of the rolls which you have in your keeping?" His Lordship replied, "I know my duties as Lord Lieutenant very well, but what my duties are as *Custos Rotulorum* I don't know, and what rolls I am supposed to have the custody of I haven't the slightest idea." He could look back on many magistrates, the late Mr. Matcham, Mr. Poulett Scrope, and half-a-dozen others, who had also been first-rate archæologists, and he was happy to think there were several present who were supporters of their Society.

The Rev. C. Soames responded to the toast.

The Noble Chairman then proposed the health of the Mayor and Corporation. He had much pleasure in seeing the Society once more in their ancient and loyal borough which he had had the honour of representing in Parliament for forty-six years, and which he hoped had done its duty in giving them a hospitable reception. They were always indebted on such occasions to the courtsey and kindness of the Mayor and Corporation, for whom he entertained a sincere regard. The ancient and loyal borough of Marlborough, whether before the days of reform or since, had always had a Town Council of which it had every reason to be proud, though never more so than at the present time. The Mayor had done everything in his power to assist them in making their meeting a successful one, and both Mr. and Mrs. Cooper had shewn the Society the greatest kindness and hospitality.

The Mayor, in returning thanks, welcomed the Society to Marlborough, and sincerely hoped they would spend three days of perfect enjoyment, and of that he had no doubt, provided the favourable weather continued. He hoped the arrangements made by the Local Secretaries for their comfort and convenience had met with their approval. If there were not in Marlborough itself many objects of archæological value, yet surrounding them on all sides were the remains of the works of their forefathers, and they were possessed of the deepest interest. The Mayor also reminded them of the

grand old British camp at Avebury, the barrows, and the many old British remains which would during the next two days come under their notice. Amongst other things worthy of mention, not the least was the excellent Museum got together by the energies of Mr. Preston: while their excellent friend Mr. Merriman, who was always ready to come to the front, had been diving down among the cobwebs of the old municipal chests, and no doubt had found matter of deep interest for his paper to-morrow.

Mr. C. Penruddocke then proposed the health of the noble Chairman—the Marquis of Ailesbury. Some years ago, when President of the Society, he prophesied that the Wiltshire archæologists would have a hearty greeting wherever they went, and he was sure that prophecy had been abundantly fulfilled that day. Canon Jackson, in his able address, had alluded to the deer and all kinds of luxuries, the ghosts and all kinds of horrors, of the forest. They had received venison without having taken it, and nothing but kindness from the Noble President of the Meeting. He had now to ask them to drink his health, and in doing so they would not only think kindly of him, but of the whole house of Bruce.

The Marquis of Ailesbury said if it was a greater honour to him for his health to be proposed by one more than another, it was by one bearing the name of Penruddocke. They had been the warmest friends of his family, and he had the pleasure of knowing them from John Hungerford Penruddocke down to the present day, and it was a name always honoured and respected. Mr. Penruddocke who came from Compton Chamberlayne, was a true pattern of the country gentleman, avoiding all extreme feeling, especially with his constituents, with whom he never talked politics. That gentleman, when Member for Wilton, would say, "Don't let us talk about politics, but come out to-morrow with my harriers." Archæology was far beyond his comprehension, but he had endeavoured to do his best. He was trustee of various properties affected by the Monuments Bill introduced by his friend on the left, Sir J. Lubbock, who seemed to think there was danger of his not taking care of the "Devil's Den." He should always treat the "Devil's Den with great respect. They had a most excellent discourse from Canon

Jackson, who described Savernake Forest in a way he had never heard it treated before, and no doubt with a thorough knowledge of the subject. He felt himself totally unable to make an opening speech worthy of the meeting, but if he had been of any little assistance he was only too glad, and he sincerely hoped he should have the pleasure of welcoming them all to Savernake to-morrow to lunch. His Lordship then proposed the health of Sir John Lubbock, the President of the Society, and expressed the pleasure with which they welcomed Sir John and Lady Lubbock and their two daughters. Sir John was deeply interested in archæology and their ancient monuments, and he may rest certain that he himself would respect the "Devil's Den," and every other Wiltshireman their monuments of antiquity.

Sir John Lubbock, after responding, said he must confess that when he first came down to Wiltshire in his present capacity, he did so with a considerable amount of hesitation and trepidation, but the kindness and cordiality he received soon put him completely at his ease, and made the Meetings of the Society amongst the most pleasant and agreeable days of the year. Lord Ailesbury referred to the Ancient Monuments Bill, and if he had not done so he himself should not have said a word upon that much-vexed subject, but the fact was the Ancient Monuments Preservation Bill was, perhaps necessarily, drawn up in language of a somewhat technical and abstruse character, and it was not easy for anyone not a lawyer to understand what the provisions of it were: but nothing was further from the intention of those who brought forward the Bill than to imagine that all the owners of ancient monuments were at all likely to destroy them. When the schedule was drawn up it was thought that it would be invidious to leave out any important monuments because they were known to be safe, and it was thought best to make a list of them whether they were safe or not. It was only in this sense that some were included, such as that which the Noble Chairman had mentioned, and which, he was quite sure, would be perfectly safe without any such protection. The effect of the Bill would be this, that if the owner of any of those ancient monuments wished to destroy it, the nation would have the power

of saying, "Give us the opportunity of purchasing it at a fair valuation." So that they would see that all those who, like Lord Ailesbury, were anxious to preserve the monuments, would not be interfered with the least bit in the world. That being the case, if his Lordship had still been a Member of the House of Commons he should have confidently claimed him as a supporter when he brought the Bill forward again, as he proposed to do next session. He now begged to propose the health of the General Secretaries, the General Curators, and the Committee of the Society. In spite of all that had been done, there still remained much to do, in fact, to use the graphic simile of Sir George Balfour in the House the other day, "What has been done in comparison with what remains to do, is really but a flea-bite in the ocean."

The Rev. A. C. Smith returned thanks, and proposed the health of those who had really undertaken the work of the Meeting, the Local Committee, and especially the Local Secretaries. The indefatigable labours of the Rev. Mr. Preston, Mr. R. W. Merriman, and Mr. H. P. Dixon, had secured a most successful Meeting, and they were entitled to their warmest acknowledgments.

The Rev. T. A. Preston, in reply, remarked that his share of the work had been merely routine, and the credit was due to Mr. Merriman and Mr. Dixon, who had arranged all the details. As to the Museum, he could safely say there was no one to whom he applied for help who did not most cordially give it. Their thanks were especially due to the College authorities, who wished to show the Society some special distinction, for any ordinary Society would not have been allowed to make use of the College buildings. The authorities had placed the resources of the College entirely at their disposal, and therefore their thanks were especially due to them, and also to those who had so generously contributed to the museum and those who had spent so much time in arranging it, and their name was legion.

The health of "The Ladies" was proposed by Lord Frederick Bruce, and acknowledged by Mr. Woodward, after which the company separated.

FIRST CONVERSAZIONE.

The attractions of the Temporary Museum in the "Modern School" of the College were so great that it was past eight o'clock before the President of the Society (Sir John Lubbock) took the chair in the "Bradleian," which was kindly lent for the purpose, and the company assembled to listen to the papers announced in the programme. The Chairman first called upon the Rev. T. A. Preston, who gave an interesting address on the "Echinus, or Sea Urchin," illustrating his lecture by a shell and several diagrams, which showed the wonderful anatomy and economy even of this comparatively low organization.

Next, Mr. S. B. Dixon read a paper on "Some Uses of Flint Implements," directing attention to the Neolithic Period, as to this period must be assigned all the specimens hitherto found in this neighbourhood. His principal object was to show that the implements of our district are analogous to those now in use, and we may reasonably infer that the makers and users of them were no further advanced in civilization than are the aborigines of New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific. Still as we have advanced to the present high standard from so low a starting point, a similar progress and development may be in store for them.

Then Rev. A. C. Smith read a paper on "British Stone and Earthworks on the Marlborough Downs," but previous to doing so begged to introduce to the Meeting an archæological map, on a large scale (six inches, linear measure, to the mile), which (though not yet quite completed) he had been above twenty years in making: and during that time had ridden over several thousand miles, traversing each district in every direction, and examining every acre of ground in his search for ancient remains. The map was intended to show, as accurately as possible, the exact position of every barrow or other earthwork and stone-work of British times which still exists on the downs between Marlborough and Devizes: indeed, some of the barrows so marked now exist only on the map, as the ploughshare has within the last twenty years completely obliterated their locality, and others are gradually disappearing before cultivation. The map

embraced one hundred square miles, taking Avebury for its centre, and comprized the plateau of down which lies between the vales of Pewsey on the south, Swindon on the north, Bromham, Rowde, and Calne, on the west, and the vale of Ogbourne on the east.

At the conclusion of the last paper the CHAIRMAN moved a cordial vote of thanks to the several gentlemen who had addressed them, and after partaking of tea and coffee, the company separated.

EXCURSION ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13TH.

At nine o'clock a large number of carriages assembled at the Town Hall, and forming a long cavalcade, proceeded up the Granham Hill, near the White Horse (made by Mr. Greasley's pupils in 1804), to Wans Dyke. This is but of low elevation where it appears beside the road, but the eyes of the company were too anxiously directed to the skies to note closely any terrestrial phenomena; for it was only too evident a severe thunder-storm was threatening. Thus the party were content with a distant view of the more interesting portion of the earthworks on Huish Hill, but it held up long enough for them to enjoy the view and note the conformation of the British village, apparently of very rude and early construction, and undoubted traces of the pit-dwellings of our early forefathers can here be distinguished. As the party neared Clench Common the rain came down in torrents, and the lightning and thunder were most terrific. Shelter was taken in various localities, and indeed the electric disturbances immediately overhead were a grand sight for those who could divest themselves of a feeling of danger. The heavy rain also prevented the party ascending to the camp on Martinsell, and on its ceasing they journeyed to Wootton Rivers, where the Rev. W. J. Brodribb was in waiting to show his Church, of very ancient date, but restored several years ago. It contains a tomb of the Rev. Sir Edward Ernle, Bart., the last of his race, who died 1787, and a glowing panegyric to his memory.

A short drive brought the party to the forest, where they first visited the Column, a lofty obelisk erected by Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury in gratitude to God for his good gifts, to his uncle for leaving him the estates, and in memory of the restoration to health

of George III., who conferred on him the barony of Tottenham.

St. Katharine's Church was next visited and greatly admired by all. This gem of a Church was built and enriched by Mary, Lady Ailesbury, and her friends, and a still later proof of that benevolent lady's munificence was visible in the new Vicarage in course of erection close by. The late Lord Ailesbury's grave is in the churchyard, and was visited by many.

Savernake House was reached between one and two, p.m., and here the Society received a most courteous and hospitable reception from Lord Ailesbury and his two sons, Lord Henry Bruce and Lord Frederick Bruce. All were allowed to wander over the mansion wherever they listed, and the magnificent paintings in the suite of rooms on the ground-floor came in for their due share of admiration. Lord Ailesbury entertained the numerous guests, about one hundred and forty in number, at a sumptuous luncheon, served in the orangery, by Mr. Carter, of the Ailesbury Arms Hotel, and it is needless to say that this, after the morning's drive, was a most welcome portion of the day's proceedings.

Lord Ailesbury, having bidden all a hearty welcome to Savernake, gave "The Queen."

Sir John Lubbock asked to be allowed, in the name of the Members of the Society, to express to Lord Ailesbury their warmest thanks for the hospitality with which they had been received that day, a hospitality the kindness and warmth of which they were the better able to appreciate on account of the extraordinary and he must say, most unscientific behaviour of the weather in the morning. Lord Ailesbury told them on the previous day that he was not, like the rest who were present, profoundly versed in the sciences of archæology and natural history. They were sorry that he was not; but when he went on to add that his presence among them was owing to the interest which he felt in everything which conduced to the pleasure of his friends and neighbours in Marlborough, he was sure they felt all the more grateful to him for the part which he had taken in the Meeting, to the success of which he had so much contributed.

The Noble Chairman having returned his acknowledgments to

his guests for the honour they had just done him, and for their kindness in accepting his invitation to Savernake House, expressed his best thanks for the great assistance which both Sir John and Lady Lubbock and their daughters had rendered in promoting the success of the Meeting. The band had done him the honour of playing "Scots wha hae," and he only hoped a Bruce might often lead such an assemblage as this. He could only say that the assembling of the Members of the Society at Savernake was a subject of great pride to him. He was satisfied that meetings of that kind did a great deal of good, for they brought friends together without regard to distinctions of politics or party. The weather had been on the whole most fortunate. It looked very alarming in the morning, and he was doubtful whether archæologists were sufficiently enthusiastic to brave all the vicissitudes of this extraordinary climate. Of course they were aware that there had been in the course of this world's experience a good deal of rain, beginning with the flood, and perhaps the subject of Noah's ark might not be an altogether unprofitable subject of discussion. After some further humourous observations on this point, His Lordship again intimated that he rejoiced to have the honour of entertaining the Archæological Society of Wilts. He had already invited them to drink the health of the Queen, and he might say he hoped Prince Leopold would soon become a Member of the Society. Probably the matter had only got to be mentioned to him, and he might then allow his name to be added to the list, and they could not have a more distinguished Member. He only wished His Royal Highness lived on this side of the county. He believed the Society would last for years. His time would not be long, but he hoped those who came after him would have the interest and welfare of the Society as much at heart as he had, and have as as great pleasure in entertaining the Members at Savernake House.

After a pause, His Lordship again rose and said there was one other toast which he wished to propose. He did not know for how many years the Society had existed; all he could say was that he wished it every prosperity. He had now to ask them to drink the health of the President, Sir John Lubbock, and to thank him for the kind manner in which he had come amongst them. He was

exactly the sort of man who understood how to manage the business of such a Society as theirs, and he must say that he certainly preferred his work in connection with archæology to his institution of four Bank Holidays in the year. No one wished the people to enjoy a holiday more than he did. Yet sometimes they felt it was a great inconvenience. He might want to cash a cheque, or his wife might want to buy a bit of ribbon—ladies were fond of buying bits of ribbon—and she might find some little difficulty in the way owing to its being Bank Holiday. But everyone would give Sir John the greatest possible credit for his philanthropy, his kindness of heart, and his generous disposition, in having brought about the establishment of those four holidays called "St. Lubbock's Days." He hoped St. Lubbock would always ensure them fine weather on those occasions. Much good had no doubt been done by their institution; the middle and the lower classes were able to enjoy themselves on those days, and the upper ten must submit to any little inconvenience which their observance might involve. The country at large was deeply indebted to Sir John for the great boon he had conferred upon it. Therefore, whether they recognised him as President of their Society or as a distinguished Member of Parliament, he had a right to have his health drunk by all the inhabitants of this county. He was sure they would cordially join with him in doing so, not forgetting Lady Lubbock and their daughters.

Sir John Lubbock, who was greeted with hearty applause, said they all knew that their excellent friend, Mr. Smith, was not in the habit of shirking work, but he certainly did think on that occasion that it would have been more appropriate if he had returned thanks for the toast of the Wiltshire Archæological Society. However, in order to contribute to the successful working of meetings of that kind it was absolutely necessary that they should do all that the Secretary told them, and he felt, therefore, that he should be setting a good example and smoothing the way of his successors by showing no reluctance to obey his commands. He was very grateful to Lord Ailesbury for the exceedingly kind manner in which he had been good enough to propose the toast and in giving it as he did a personal character which he did not the least anticipate. When His Lordship

began to refer to Bank Holidays he really was a little afraid that he was going to express an unfavourable opinion of them, but as he went on he warmed with the subject, and he appealed to them whether Lord Ailesbury did not make out a very good case for them after all. If the worst that could be said against them was that they caused some little inconvenience to ladies desirous of buying dresses and ribbons, he was quite satisfied they would find some mode of overcoming the difficulty. As regarded the Society he confessed that looking forward to the future he did see that considerable difficulty might arise, because the country was gradually becoming so scientific, and those societies were becoming so popular, that he thought the Mr. Smiths of the future would find great difficulty in conducting their operations some one hundred years hence, though they might be as energetic secretaries as their Society now possessed. He must say again that he thought he was rather out of place in returning thanks for the toast, for, though he was very grateful to Lord Ailesbury for the kind way he had spoken of him, and especially for his gracious reference to Lady Lubbock, he felt that it was Mr. Smith to whose exertions its success was mainly owing and their thanks were due.

The company then adjourned to the terraces, where the band of the 17th Wilts R.V. was stationed, and strolled for a short time through the delightful pleasure-grounds and gardens. They also examined a curious fragment of Roman tesselated pavement, which was discovered near the house about twenty years ago, and was again uncovered for the inspection of visitors. Then they were summoned to the dining hall, where Mr. Tucker, "Rouge Croix" of the Herald's College, made a few remarks on the splendid pedigree of the Seymours there spread out. Mr. Tucker said it was an exceedingly interesting one, and though it had not the *imprimatur* of the Herald's College, it was no doubt perfectly authentic, it showed several royal descents, through the Seymours to their noble host, and went down to the time of William, Duke of Somerset. The other pedigree showed the descent of the Bruces and Brudenells, but that of the Seymours was most interesting. He had often heard of it, and it was the largest he had ever seen with one

exception, that of Knowle. The horn was entered as a cognizance, but that he could not wholly endorse.

Three swords, said to belong to Robert Bruce, Wallace, and to Black Douglas, were then shown the company, and Mr. Tucker remarked that nothing could be more ungracious, but he could not conscientiously say those swords were of that period. There was no reason why the family should not have inherited the *personnel* of the Bruces as well as the name, and it was very likely such swords were lost or stolen, and replaced by others; but these were certainly not of the date of Bannockburn, though they might be that of Flodden. Moreover, he thought that, like the Queen in Hamlet, they "do protest too much," they were bedizened with heraldry which was not common in Scotland for personal devices at that time. Much was stuck upon the sword, and the arms of Scotland was on Bruce's sword, though this was never worn by Bruce. They were sixteenth century and not fourteenth century swords.

The noted tenure horn, formed by the hollowed tusk of an elephant with enamelled figures of the chase, was next exhibited, and Mr. Tucker said it was of German workmanship, of the cinque cento period, and certainly earlier than the leather strap attached to it. This belt was bedizoned with the Murray arms, and Randolph Murray was a nephew of Bruce. He believed the horn came from Wolfhall originally, and was the badge of wardenship of the forest. It was ascribed to the period of the Bruce, but was certainly not of that period.

Lord Ailesbury remarked that he could get nobody to blow the horn but his son Lord Frederick, who made an awful yell issue from it. He had tried the bandmaster, who could make nothing of it. When George III. came to Savernake on leaving it he said to his grandfather, the Earl of Ailesbury, whose portrait they saw at the end of the room, "My Lord you have forfeited your property, you have not blown the horn." His grandfather replied, "Well, sire, I couldn't get anybody to get any sound out of it." The King forgave him, but should Her Majesty ever favour him with a visit he would certainly get somebody to blow the horn.

Shortly after the party left the building, and proceeded to "the

Duke's Vaunt," for a description of which we refer our readers to Canon Jackson's paper. Thence by different routes, enjoying the forest scenery, past Folly Farm, the site of the old Roman town, *Cunetio*, to Marlborough.

SECOND CONVERSAZIONE.

This was again held in the "Bradleian," and again the visitors were entertained with tea and coffee. Sir John Lubbbock occupied the chair, and the papers read and addresses given were of great interest. The first was by R. W. Merriman, Esq., on "Some Stray Notes from the Marlborough Court-Books." The second by Rev. C. Soames, on "Some Coins found near Marlborough": both of which will appear in the *Magazine*. And then Sir John Lubbock, having gracefully tendered the thanks of the Meeting to those gentlemen, proceeded to give an exhaustive and most able lecture on "Fruits and Seeds," which he illustrated by many curious specimens, and by a large series of diagrams, which had been beautifully prepared by Lady Lubbock and her daughters. At the conclusion a very interesting discussion arose in reference to the seeds of the two species of elm common in this county, *Ulmus Campestris* and *U. Montana*, in which the Rev. Francis Goddard and the Rev. T. A. Preston took part: and then the Rev. A. C. Smith offered the hearty thanks of the Meeting to Sir John Lubbock for his admirable address, so full of matter of the deepest value to the accomplished botanist, as well as of extreme interest to those who were unacquainted with that branch of science. As this was the last occasion of the meeting of the Society in Marlborough, a special vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor and Corporation for their kind and cordial reception of the Society, as well as to the many kind friends who had done so much to make the visit successful.

EXCURSION ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 14th.

A party of increased proportions started from the Town Hall at nine o'clock, and at least twenty well-laden carriages wended their way across Marlborough Common, on as pleasant a day for an excursion on the downs as could be desired. The first halt was at

Rockley, where, by kind permission of W. H. Tanner, Esq., several barrows had been opened under the skilful superintendence of Mr. Henry Cunnington, as well as others on the down adjoining, the property of his brother, R. P. Tanner, Esq., of Ogbourne Maizey. As we shall subjoin a detailed account farther on of these most successful openings, it is needless to add more here.

The great cavalcade of carriages and horses, comprising now about one hundred and fifty persons, then proceeded over the springy turf to the fine breezy heights of Barbury Castle. The Rev. A. C. Smith shortly described the camp, which was originally British, though subsequently strengthened by the Saxons, and pointed out the depth of the fosse, the strength of the earthworks, the double ramparts, the barbican, and the commanding position, rendering this camp well-nigh impregnable without artillery. Mr. Swayne and Mr. S. Sloper expressed their opinion that the camp was Roman, this, however, was not the view of Sir Richard Hoare, who considered it an excellent example of Saxon castrametation. The archæologists wandered round the ramparts, and were loud in their praises of this very perfect specimen of an ancient camp. Then they partook of the welcome refreshments which Mr. H. Kemble, of Overtown, in a spirit of most liberal hospitality, had provided for the excursionists, and himself presided over the waggons and dispensed the contents on all sides. Sir John Lubbock, in the name of the Society, tendered a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Kemble, and then, having inspected a celt and some Roman coins which Mr. Blackford exhibited, and which had been found on the spot, the Secretary's whistle sounded the note of departure, and the company descending the hill to the carriages drove for a good mile or more on the old British trackway along the crest of Hackpen. This British road or "Ridge-way," as it is locally termed, though certainly undesirable for modern carriages, inasmuch as it possesses deep ruts and sundry awkward muddy holes of considerable depth, is of great interest to the antiquarian, for it was the undoubted road of communication between the north and south of this part of England in the time of the Britons. However valued in the eyes of the archæologist, the drivers at any rate were not sorry when they reached the hard road

running from Marlborough to Wootton Bassett, and by this they descended to Broad Hinton Church, where the Vicar (Rev. J. A. Lloyd) courteously met them and pointed out the many objects of interest in the Church; the building itself, the monuments in the chancel, several of which are well worthy of notice; the old registers, dating back from an early period, and containing many strange entries; and the very massive communion plate. From Broad Hinton the party proceeded to Berwick Bassett, where Mr. Stratton kindly suffered them to wander over the Manor House, and more particularly to visit the "Painted Chamber," the walls of which are completely covered with paintings on canvas, in imitation of tapestry, representing scriptural and other subjects. At the Church the Vicar—Rev. W. P. S. Bingham—pointed out the beautiful screen, the Norman font, and an ancient brass: and then rode forward to Winterbourne Monkton, of which he is also Rector, and on the arrival of the party received them at the porch of the newly-restored Church, which still contains the original stand for the hour-glass placed near the pulpit bearing upon it the date 1627. From Monkton the archæologists drove to Avebury, where the Church bells rang out a glad welcome, and at once proceeded to the large manor barn, kindly lent for the occasion by Mr. Kemm, where an excellent luncheon had been prepared. At its conclusion Sir John Lubbock, who occupied the chair, proposed the Queen's health, and then votes of thanks to the College authorities for the use of their buildings, and to the Local Secretaries, particularly Mr. Preston, to whom the success of the meeting was in great measure due.

The Rev. T. A. Preston having replied in behalf of the College, his colleagues, and himself;

The Rev. Bryan King said he was deputed by Mrs. King and Mrs. Kemm to state they would be very happy to furnish the guests with a cup of tea in the picturesque grounds of the Manor House before they started on their expedition to Silbury. No one knew so much as himself how much his dear Avebury—aye! and every one who cared for the glorious antiquities of Avebury—were indebted to Sir John Lubbock. Some eight or ten years ago one of the meadows containing several old stones and part of the dyke had been sold to

some agent of a building society before either himself or any of the principal persons in the parish were aware of the sale taking place; he immediately wrote to Sir John Lubbock, who authorised him to purchase it if it was possible to do so. Mr. Kemm and Mr. Brown prevailed upon the society to purchase its land elsewhere; and he was able to repurchase the stones and dykes for Sir John Lubbock at an addition of £100 over what they were sold for three or four weeks before. That was very far from being the sole instance; two or three years after that, the estate of which Silbury Hill forms a part was to be sold by auction. Sir John prevailed upon the owners to apportion Silbury and a small plot of land immediately around it as a separate lot, and empowered him (Mr. King) to purchase Silbury Hill in order to preserve it intact. About two years ago, two others of the meadows with part of the dyke and several stones were to be sold, and Sir John immediately authorised him to purchase it, and he succeeded in doing so. They all knew Sir John's public efforts in the House of Commons to protect these world-famed monuments, but these were personal and private efforts of himself.

The Rev. A. C. Smith said the duty devolved on him, as Secretary to the Society, to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Sir John Lubbock for the admirable way in which he had conducted the affairs of the Society during the time he had been their President. He regretted to say that Sir John's tenure of office expired at the end of this year, indeed this was the last occasion on which they would be presided over by him, at least for the present, for he saw no reason why they should not at some future time try to prevail upon him to accept the office a second time. Sir John Lubbock was not only an invaluable President, inasmuch as he was a master both in the science of archæology and of the several branches of natural history, but he threw himself into the work with the greatest ardour, and he had charmed them with the admirable lectures he had given them, and the courtesy which characterised all his proceedings. In the name of the Society he tendered him their most cordial thanks.

Sir John Lubbock, in reply, expressed his pleasure at presiding over the Society; and in reference to Mr. King's statement of his

purchases at Avebury and Silbury, observed that the difference between the agricultural value of the land and that he gave was (it would be noted) small. He found that these great national monuments were never destroyed for any national work, but in order that the stones might be turned into cottages or the tumuli into manure, or some other extremely humble purpose.

Canon Jackson said they were loath to leave that picturesque dining-room, and he proposed the health of the General Secretaries, whilst the Rev. A. C. Smith, on behalf of the Archæological Society, thanked Mr. Kemm, who had been an archæologist ever since the Archæological Society had been established if not before, and had done the best he could to preserve the great stones at Avebury, and had now lent them the noble barn in which they were assembled.

Mr. Kemm, in reply, was only too pleased to see all in his barn, though it was perhaps a misfortune, as it ought at this time to be full of produce. He was happy to see so many archæologists and hoped they would be pleased with what they saw at Avebury.

The party then left the barn, and proceeded to view the fine old Manor House and the Church. At the Manor House, the present occupier, Mr. Kemm, received the visitors with great cordiality and kindness, and the privilege of walking through the charming old house and the extremely picturesque grounds was highly valued.

At the Church the Vicar (Rev. Bryan King) pointed out the chief objects of interest, the rudely-carved but most remarkable Norman font, the Norman doorway with its beautiful dogs-tooth mouldings, and even evidences of a Saxon Church occupying the site previous to the present structure, which had recently come to light during the course of restoration.

Then the archæologists visited the British antiquities for which Avebury is so famous, first walking round the great embankment, and then examining in turn the most remarkable of the existing stones. Rev. A. C. Smith described the original plan of the outer circle of stones, and the two inner circles or temples, one containing a single stone or "obelisk" in its centre, the other three large stones, forming the sacred "cove;" and called special attention to the fact that each of these inner circles was twice as large as the temple at

Stonehenge. Mr. Henry Brown also conducted a party to some of the principal stones, and pointed out where others originally stood prior to their destruction. Before leaving Avebury, the hospitalities dispensed in the Manor House grounds were most gratefully accepted.

Resuming the carriages the archæologists now proceeded by the Kennet Avenue to Silbury Hill, which was soon literally covered with ascending excursionists, and was examined with great interest. Then the Rev. A. C. Smith led the more enterprizing by a rugged footpath over the downs for a good mile or more to the remarkable "stone circle" which he discovered and unearthed two years before (see *Magazine,* vol. xvii., 253-4), and which Sir John Lubbock and others agreed was undoubtedly a work of ancient times, though none could throw any light on its probable origin or intention.

A drive by the noted "grey wethers," or valleys of stones; and a short detour in Clatford Bottom to the famous cromlech, called the "Devil's Den," brought the archæologists back to Marlborough, and terminated as delightful and successful a Meeting as the Society has ever had to record.

The Temporary Museum

at Marlborough was arranged in the Upper School of the College, which had been kindly lent for the purpose by the College authorities, the decorations used for the Prize Day being left up till the end of the Meeting. In addition to the gas lights (provided by the College) the tables were excellently lighted by a number of lamps supplied (gratis) by Messrs. Dale & Son.

At one end of the room was a large table with an almost complete collection of wild plants then in flower, nearly three hundred in number, collected and arranged by Mrs. Gwillim, Miss Preston, and other ladies. Facing the entrance-door was a table with *local* objects of curiosity:—a case containing a fine white-tailed eagle, shot in Savernake Forest in 1859, lent by the Marquis of Ailesbury; some pieces of old stained glass, encaustic tiles, carved stone-work, &c., from Huish by Rev. G. H. Dartnell; twenty-one pieces of pottery from Mildenhall, by Rev. C. Soames; quern, dug up at Fyfield, by Mr. Neate; coin, found at Fyfield in 1879, and a seal of the Hungerford Family, Fyfield, by C. Penruddocke, Esq.; three trays of pottery and implements dug up at Barbury Camp, by the College Natural History Society; an old sword, found on Charlton Down, bronze celt, fossils, and pottery, from Martinsell, by J. Merrick, Esq.; curious flints, by Mr. Rowlands; old stonework, &c., from Huish, by Mr. Newman; and a finely-worked sword, by C. Penruddocke, Esq.; also a collection of Marlborough moths and butterflies, arranged by N. Manders, Esq.

Along each side of the room was a long table, on which were arranged a number of trays lent by the College Natural History Society, containing Chinese and Indian articles of dress, &c., ancient pottery, phylacteries, stone implements, &c., also a collection of Indian moths and butterflies, as well as some drawers from their collection of British moths; a collection of interesting books and china by F. E. Hulme, Esq., F.L.S., F.S.A.; Kaffir drinking vessels and dresses, Zulu snuff-boxes and pipe, by J. Merrick, Esq.; collections of shells and corals, two Cingalese "books" on palm leaves, Burmese inscription on silver, wasps' nest in a lock, &c., by Mr. Neate; six pieces of Wedgwood ware and curious old decanter, by Mr. Musselwhite; three alabaster carvings, by Mr. Harrison; old inkstand, by Mr. Leadly; plan of Old Sarum, pipe, old newspaper, and piece of telegraph cable, by Mr. Dale; old bronze kettle, by Mr. Coleman; reindeer's hoof, from Norway, and maps of North Wiltshire in section, by Rev. A. C. Smith; and various collections by Rev. T. A. Preston.

On a table near the door were the pillory, weights and measures,

and charters, belonging to the town, lent by the Mayor; besides a series of interesting documents lent by R. W. Merriman, Esq.

In the centre of the room was a table, on which was the collection of coins belonging to the College Natural History Society; a valuable collection of coins lent by Rev. C. Soames; old spur, dug up in St. Martin's, by Mr. B. Hillier; one of the first lists of the Members of the Royal Society, by Mr. Rowe; curious snuff-box, &c., by Mr. Forrest; antique bottle, by Mr. Glass; a large collection of celts, by S. B. Dixon, Esq., F.G.S.; and a collection of Echini, by Rev. T. A. Preston.

At the further end of the room and along the sides, between the tables and the walls was a large collection of birds, stuffed animals, skulls and horns, mostly lent by the College Natural History Society; a large number of diagrams, by F. E. Hulme, Esq., Zulu and other weapons, by J. Merrick, Esq.; and a trophy of armour, by Mr. Neate.

There was also a series of "rubbings" of the portraits of the first Missionaries to China, lent by the College Natural History Society; the "Marlborough Bucket," by W. Cunnington, Esq.; and a stone font, by Mr. G. Harrison.

The walls were covered with pictures, lent by C. Penruddocke, Esq. (portrait); F. E. Hulme, Esq. (view of "Devil's Den"); Mr. Neate; Mr. Leadley; Mr. Dale; Rev. F. T. Ravenshaw, and Mr. Glass.

Savernake Forest.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

IN referring to the proceedings at our former General Meeting at Marlborough, in September, 1859, just twenty years ago, it appears that though most of the points of archæological interest in the town and neighbourhood were visited and described, it did not occur to any of us to make Savernake Forest the subject of a paper. When I say "to any of *us*," a kind of pang shoots across the memory in being obliged to add that many of our colleagues who took an active part in those proceedings have, one by one, disappeared altogether from our Society; leaving, comparatively, only a few who can say that they are now making their second archæological visit to Marlborough. On the part also of the company, the lapse of twenty years must of necessity have wrought considerable change. But we hope that the places of missing friends have been supplied by new ones, kindly disposed towards our pursuits, and willing to hear something about the place, or the neighbourhood of the place, at which they live.

Perhaps the reason, why at our former Meeting, nothing was said about the Forest, may have been that it did not appear to be a strictly archæological subject, but one more fit to be dealt with by the brush of the painter or the pen of the poet. It certainly presents a fine field for both: but as a matter of antiquity the fact is that there are few things more ancient than our forests.[1]

[1] Manwood, the quaint old writer of a volume on forest law, mentions Wiltshire forests as among the earliest known: "It doth appear by sundry ancient Histories, as in the 'Concordantia Historiarum' and others, that forests have been alwaies in this realm from the first time that the same was inhabited. And also you may read there, that Gurgentius, the son of *Belinus*, being a King of this land, did make certain forests for his delight and pleasure in *Wiltshire*." The old chroniclers connect this King Belinus with Billingsgate in London. It is—if worth nothing more—a coincidence, that in the Wiltshire forest of Savernake, among the boundary marks in the Perambulation of A.D. 1300 (28, Ed. I.), between Holt and Stock, occurs the name of "*Bellin*-gate." (*Wilts Mag.*, iv., 202, sixth line from foot of page.) It is still called *Bell*-moor.

With the exception of the New Forest, as it was called, and of that at Hampton Court, there is no record of one having been formed. The very name of *New* Forest, given eight hundred years ago, implies that all the rest of them, about seventy in number, were already old in the time of William I. Near Maidenhead, in Berkshire, is a well-known picturesque group of woodland scenery, called "The Burnham Beeches," which the Corporation of London have lately purchased in order to do what our President, Sir John Lubbock, has been labouring to do for ancient monuments of other kinds, viz.: to place it under some authority that shall preserve it from injury. A tourist happening to visit the Burnham Beeches and to admire some of the most venerable patriarchs of the grove, asked an old native whom he saw sitting on a bench if he could tell him who planted those trees. "Planted!" said the old man, in a tone of indignation, "those trees never was planted. They're as ould as the world." Now Savernake has some competitors for the honour of the old man's somewhat exaggerated estimate. Besides the King Oak, the Queen Oak, and some others, there is that "old, old, very old" specimen of the vegetable kingdom called "The Duke's Vaunt," supposed to be so called from having been the boast or glory of the celebrated Protector Duke of Somerset, at one time owner of the Forest. What age to put upon it, it is impossible to say, the mark has been out of its mouth so long, but the Duke was beheaded three hundred and twenty-seven years ago, and if it was his glory during his life-time, it must have taken some centuries to arrive at that distinction. It is described, with a woodcut, in the old *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1802—seventy-seven years ago—as being then 30 feet round on the outside and 20 feet round the hollow within. The writer of that description (which, however, is hardly borne out by the actual circumference of the tree—23 or 24 feet,) says that he had once been one of a large party walking the parish bounds, and that he was one of twenty boys who were shut up in it, and also that a band of music, consisting of a violin, a hautboy, and a bassoon, played several tunes inside. Some of the oldest men then present said that, as long as they could recollect, it had been in the same state.

In one way, indeed, there may be a certain amount of truth in the boast of the old man at Burnham above-mentioned, that his trees, and Savernake Oaks also, are as old as the world. So long as the soil of Savernake Forest has been there, so long has there been—not of course, any one particular tree or trees—but forest, and forest only. All South Wiltshire is overspread with a great stratum of chalk, but over that chalk there have been at some remote period other strata or layers of soil. These upper layers, called Tertiary, consisted generally of various mottled clays, sands, or gravel, of a kind quite distinct from clays and sands found below the chalk. Not very far from here, at Cidbury Hill, near Everley, a chalk hill is capped in a very remarkable way by a layer of rounded pebbles, which it is utterly impossible could have been left in that situation by themselves, but must have formed part of a more extensive bed that covered the rest of the chalk. At Pebble Hill, not far from Kintbury, you may see a good illustration of this. Portions of these Tertiary strata overlie the chalk all along the valley of the Thames from its mouth, and the valley of the Kennet westwards as far as Marlborough, including the Forest. Here they are covered on the surface by a stratum that consists of sweepings of all sorts and is called by geologists, Drift. Of the Tertiary strata some are still found in their proper order. Others have been washed away, leaving only here and there a few traces; of which kind are the well-known large blocks of very hard flinty sandstone, some of which have been hauled to make the circle and avenue at Abury, and hundreds of others are still to be seen imbedded in long hollow slopes of the downs. The soft sand bed, of which they were originally the bones, has somehow or other been washed clean away, leaving the heavy masses behind.

This being the general character of the soil, it is probable that ever since this Tertiary drift, gravel and sand, have formed the surface covering, forest has always grown upon it; the general character of the drift not being favourable for cultivation by plough and spade.

It is also no less likely that so long as there has been forest there has been hunting, and that the Forest was preserved in its original state, for that special purpose. For it must be borne in

mind that, in the earliest days of society, hunting was not the mere amusement, the rather expensive amusement, that it is now. It was a necessity.

Before lands were legally divided and appropriated, the original natives of this, as of most countries, lived by hunting. They preferred chasing and catching their food to digging or ploughing for it. Of course it became necessary, before long, to put this sort of wild scramble into some order, to divide districts and lay down laws. In the very earliest division of land, large tracts of forest would be set aside for the King's share: and these, in their original dimensions, became private property of the Crown—"ancient demesne," as it was called. Our earliest forefathers were certainly hunters, for their burial places, the barrows, are seldom opened without presenting horns of deer, or the spear-head of the sportsman deceased. So were the Romans; and at Savernake. It should be mentioned that there are hereabouts abundant traces of them: such as a road right through the forest from Winchester, branching off towards Cirencester: a station at Folly Farm, many silver coins of Julius Cæsar found at the forest brick-kilns, a curious brass vessel at Mildenhall, the famous cup at Rudge: tessellated pavements, a small portion of one at a spot about one hundred yards in front of the Marquis of Ailesbury's house, but a very fine and perfect one at Littlecote. It may be added that the designs and figures in the mosaic (rather *musaic*[1]) work of these pavements are very frequently what we now call hunting-pieces: from which the propensities of the owners may be inferred.[2]

Our next masters, the Saxons, were also given to forest-hunting, but not so selfishly as some of their successors. This we know

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[1] It is not an uncommon mistake to consider the word "mosaic" as borrowed from the description given by Moses in Exodus, xxviii., 17, of the high priest's breastplate: "set in settings of stones," in rows, and of different kinds and colours: but the true derivation is from the Greek word, "Μουσειον," *i.e.*, museum: "domicilium *musis* apparatum," that kind of embellished floor having been chiefly used in buildings or rooms appropriated to works of art.

[2] "At East Coker, in Dorsetshire, one was discovered some years ago in which the figures of hounds pursuing deer were beautifully depicted." Chronicle of Cranborne, p. 102.

from the fact that the forests do not appear to have been enlarged in their time, nor have we any forest-laws of that period. The earliest code of forest-law handed down to us, comes under the name of Canute, and very severe it was: its punishments being heavy fines, flogging, and even death.

The mighty hunters of our island, who out-Nimroded Nimrod, were the Norman and Plantagenet kings. William I., Rufus, and Henry I. were passionately fond of the sport. King John, who could never sit still for three days together, was frequently at Marlborough. He was fond of tearing about England in a chariot (called in the Latin record a *Biga*) and four horses, many miles a-day. One of his orders of a rather curious kind is extant, relating to this neighbourhood, showing us to what use he applied the "Vaunts" of your Forest. The order is dated at this town, 11th April, 1208:[1] being a "Command to Hugh Nevill, Governor of Marlborough Castle, and Warden of the Forest: to proclaim through his County that no one, as he regards his person and property, should do any harm to, or speak evil of, religious men or clerks; and that if such a one should be laid hold of, he should be hanged on the nearest oak [ad proximam quercum eum suspendi faciemus]."

After this time Savernake Forest became very largely extended, but what that exactly means cannot be very well understood without a few remarks upon forests in general.

As to the meaning of the word "forest" there is, as usual, a difference of opinion. It is found in Welsh, French, and Low Latin. Some say it is from "*ferœ statio*," a place of wild animals. Others from "*foras*," Latin for "abroad," out in the open. Either derivation suits the case.

It is important to understand what a forest really was. We must not take our ideas from any place that happens to bear the name now, because the whole forest system has been completely altered. A forest was not enclosed like a park: but it extended for many miles, far beyond the compass of any ordinary park. This definition of it is given in a curious old black-letter book, "Manwood's Forest

[1] Close Rolls of King John in "Excerpta Historica," p. 400.

Laws":—"A certain territory of woody grounds and fruitful pastures, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of forest, chase, or warren to rest and abide *in the safe protection of the King, for his princely delight and pleasure;* which territory, so privileged, is meered and bounded with unremoveable marks, meers and boundaries, either known as matter of record, or else by prescription. And also replenished with wild beasts, and with great coverts for the succour of the said wild beasts to have their abode in; and for the preservation of such place there are certain laws, privileges and officers belonging to the same that are only proper unto a forest, and not to any other place." A forest might include open chases, and paled parks or warrens, all belonging to private people; but being *within* the limits of the King's forest, the King's game must not be meddled with; and the whole was subject to the particular code of law called forest law, not made by Parliament, but solely by the King. If a person happened to own a chase or park just *outside* the limits of the King's forest, and he wished to punish poachers, the chace or park had no law of its own, and the owner must use the common law of England, not forest law. Though not actually enclosed, a forest had well-known and ascertained limits. Those limits might be something standing above ground, as a church steeple, or an old oak, an earthen barrow or a burial-mound. Or it might be a river, or a road. So that in fact a forest was a *district* over which certain rigorous laws extended: somewhat resembling what we should call "The Duke's country," or the "Vale of White Horse country"; with this difference: the modern master of hounds hunts by the leave and with the full consent of the different owners of the lands: but the Norman King asked no leave. Not only so, but he would not allow the owner of the land to hunt the royal beasts without leave. In truth, unless the owner could show some very ancient right, custom, or prescription, he could not even hunt anything, without license from the Crown. He could not cut down even his own trees when he liked, without a license. I have here an instance, not from your forest, but from another in this county. Among Lord Bath's papers at Longleat there is a letter from the estate bailiff to his master, Sir Thomas Thynn, in 1609—two

hundred and seventy years ago—in which the bailiff complains to his master that some of his men, set to cut down timber on Sir Thomas's own land, lying within the bounds of Selwood Forest, had cut down two, when they were ordered by the King's bailiff of the forest to stop. It was not that the King claimed either the land or the timber: but the royal beasts, the stags, were losing the protection of the trees, and their peace and rest were being disturbed by felling the timber. The steward did not understand that sort of interruption: so he says, "I told them, I knew your interest and would have the work go forward. I would not be restrained either by him or any man else, in taking of my master's own to his own use." Nevertheless he was restrained, until certain permission had been obtained, by a document now on the table,[1] a regular warrant signed by the King's Justice of the Forest, the Earl of Nottingham, to allow Sir Thomas Thynne to cut down his own timber on his own land. This was only one of the many annoyances of those forest laws.

[1] [*Translated from the original, in Latin, at Longleat.*]

"CHARLES, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM, Baron Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England, Chief Justice and Justice "itinerant" (in Eyre) of all Forests Chaces, Parks and Warrens of our Lord the King on this side Trent To the Keeper or Lieutenant of our Lord the King's forest of Froome Sellwoode in the county of Somerset and to the Verderers, Foresters and other officers of the said forest greeting Whereas by a certificate of the verderers of the said forest bearing date 14th September last past it appears that certain parcels of wood or coppice belonging to Thomas Thynne Kt. called Hassell's Hill Coppice lying within the said forest containing by estimation about sixty acres are ready to be cut and carried away and that two hundred trees growing on the land of the said Thomas Thynne called Abbot's Moor within the said forest may be thrown and carried away without damage either to the Vert or Venison Know ye that in consideration thereof I have given and by these presents do give and grant licence full power and authority unto the said Thomas Thynne and his assigns to bargain ("*barganizare*") sell, cut and carry away the said coppice wood within three years next following the date of these presents in equal portions and also to throw and carry away the two hundred trees aforesaid during this present year without hindrance from the officers of the forest or any other person whatsoever so that the said cutting and carrying away ("*abcarriatio*") be done at seasonable and proper times and not within the fence month nor so as to drive away the wild animals resorting there ("*nec ad exitium terarum*") and that the fence ("*fensura*") round the said coppice be duly maintained according to the laws customs and assizes of the said forest. Given under my seal of office 4th Nov. 1609 in the year of James of England France and Ireland the 7th, of Scotland the 43rd. Per Rich. Bellingham.

"NOTTINGHAM."

The following letter, also at Longleat, further illustrates the state of things :—

The Earl of Pembroke to Sir Thomas Thynne.

"Good Sr. Thomas. There is a request made unto me to give way that Mr. John Symmes may procure a lycence to cutt down two Trees upon every Acre of his own land within the Forest of Sellwood, which will amount in all to the number of 2400 trees. And because his Land is within that part of the Forest which is under your charge, besides that this cannot be done without a certificate from you, as Verdurer, that so many may be spared conveniently without prejudice to the game, I have thought fit to entreat your opinion before-hand, desiring you to signify it unto me.

"Yr. assured Loveing Friend

"Baynard's Castle
27 April. 1615."

"PEMBROKE"

If, as sometimes happened, a king granted a forest to a subject—and such I believe was the case here—though it might retain the name, it was no longer a forest in the eye of the law, because a forest was a Royal dignity, and the King had given up his rights in it. It would no longer be under a Justice of the forest, no subject having the power of appointing a Justice. None but a King could do that.

The Crown had two Justices of forests: one of whom exercised jurisdiction over all forests North, the other upon all forests South of the river Trent. They used to attend at certain times and places, at what was called the "Justice Seat." But there were other officers of the forest, resident on the spot, to look after the king's rights and see that they were not trespassed on. These were a warden, (bailiff, or custos, for the name varies); verderers; regarders; and agisters. The verderer's business was to see to the timber; the agister's, to settle the different claims of persons for their cattle to graze on the open pastures, and their pigs to range about for the acorns. The regarder kept an eye on the limits, to see that no enclosures were made, none of the waste lands occupied by stealth. He had to make surveys, or regards, every three years. All these officers were appointed by the king's writ, and they had certain perquisites. The verderer was furnished with a fee of "five javelins, one spear and one shield." They were generally esquires or gentlemen of good account, wise and discreet, and learned in the laws of the forest. They were all solemnly sworn in, at meetings of the county. The foresters were of a lower class, corresponding nearly to our keepers. These did the patrolling work, by day or night, and reported offenders to their superiors.

The two chief things to be watched in every forest are commonly described by the familiar names of the "vert and venison."

Vert of course meant all the green wood, or, in old English, green-hue. It was of three kinds:—(1) the large timber trees, called "*Over-vert*," or "*Haut bois*"; (2) all manner of under-wood, &c.; this was called "*Nether-vert*"; and (3) another sort, consisting of all such trees as bore fruit or berries useful for food for the stags—as pear-trees, crab-trees, hawthorns, and the like. This was "*Special vert.*"

"Venison." It may be pronounced in three syllables, as Shakespeare does, "Come shall we go and kill us *venison*"; or, as many of our oldest writers and some later ones—as Dryden—in two:

> "He, for the feast prepared
> In equal portions with the ven'son shared."

But whether pronounced one way or another, the word now is used only in speaking of the *flesh* of one particular animal. In the forest laws it meant what the French word does, from which it comes, "*venaison*"—hunting—in Latin, *venatio*; and it included every kind of animal that was the object of pursuit. There was a distinction. Some animals were called beasts of *chase*, as the buck, the doe, the fox, the martron or martin cat, and the roe. Others were beasts and fowls of *warren*, as the hare, cony, pheasant, and partridge. Beside these there were wolves and wild boars.[1] The whole were legally included under the name of venison.[2]

In our ancient forest law-language then, by "vert and venison," are meant all green things that grow and all animals that are hunted. "Wild beasts" the forest law calls them. We apply that term

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[1] The wild boar was in this forest down to Henry the Eighth's time, perhaps later. The martern, or martin cat was a privileged beast. It was once common in Wiltshire woods.

The fox is also described in the oldest accounts as a privileged beast, that is, under the forest law: which is not very intelligible: because fox-hunting, at least in its steadily established form, is not much more than one hundred and thirty years old. One often sees in old parish account books of that date, a shilling paid by the parish to anybody who had killed a fox, as so much vermin.

[2] The original meaning of the word venison, *i.e.*, hunting, is shewn in the Latin Vulgate account of the death-bed scene of the patriarch Isaac, in the twenty-seventh chapter of Genesis. The old man calls his son Esau to him, saying, "Take thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out *to the field*, and take me some *venison*." In the Latin "go out to the field" is "Egredere *foras*" (abroad, into the *forest*): and "Take me some venison" is "cum *venatu* aliquid apprehenderis" (when thou hast taken anything *by hunting*). So also "I will eat of my son's venison" does not *necessarily* mean the flesh of the deer, for the Latin is "cibos *de venatione* filii" (food of my son's hunting). It might have been that of some other kind of animal. The *classical* Latin word for the flesh of the deer we find in Virgil's account of Æneas and his crew refreshing themselves. They had killed six bucks, "cornubus arboreis" (with branching horns): and then sit down and "Implentur veteris Bacchi pinguis què ferinæ" *(Take their fill of old wine and fat venison).*

to the occupiers of cages in the Zoological Gardens, but the old forest law only meant animals *not* domestic, "*feræ naturæ*." The very word "deer" is nothing else than the Greek word, θήρ (*theer*) a wild animal: and, curiously enough, it is to that classical country we owe not only the name but the thing. The spotted fallow-deer, at any rate, comes from Greece, and is said to be found there now in a wild state.

The "King's beasts," *par excellence*, were stags: and it was at any man's peril that he meddled with them. A stag six years old was called a hart. If he had been honoured by having been hunted by King or Queen, he was thenceforth known among his colleagues as a "Hart Royal." If he had escaped altogether out of his proper forest, public warning was given in the neighbouring towns and villages, and he became known as a "Hart Royal proclaimed."

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The forest including within its limits (as has been already mentioned) parks and warrens belonging to private owners, there were in the palings of such parks, gaps or openings, where the fence was purposely made lower than usual, in order to let the King's beasts jump in and out, to and fro, at pleasure. One of the tricks played to the King's officers was to lower the ground *inside* the gap, by making a deep trench or pit-fall, so that when a stag had jumped into the enclosed park he could not jump out again. The animals were further tempted to enter at such places by a bait of apple pomace, *i.e.*, the residue of apples that have been crushed for cyder, a dainty of which they are particularly fond, and which they can scent from a great distance. These gaps were called Deer-Leaps, in Latin "*saltatoria*." Sometimes proprietors were allowed, by special grant from the Crown, to have these traps on the border of a King's forest, but they were often set by deer-stealers, without right. Offenders were first summoned to the warden's court, or swain-mote, where complaints were lodged against them, whence they were transferred to the higher tribunal of the Chief Justice of the Forest.

Nothing was allowed to be done likely to interfere with the peace and rest of the King's beasts, especially during what was called the

"Fence-month," *i.e.*, the time of fawning: fifteen days before and fifteen days after Midsummer. The name "Fence-month" is merely an abbreviation of "de-fence" month." During that time no one was allowed to gather rushes, pick berries or nuts, or let cattle, that were being driven along the roads, wander aside to graze.

To dogs of all kinds the King's officers (like modern gamekeepers) had a violent antipathy. Some kinds, however, were allowed to be kept, either for safety of property or as being not likely to disturb the King's beasts; but spaniels and greyhounds could only be kept under the King's license. If found unlicensed, they immediately underwent the operation of "hock-sinewing," "hambling," or "hoxing," as it was called, *i.e.*, the sinew of a hinder leg was cut so as to prevent their doing further mischief. But the most intolerable was the English mastiff.[1] He was dealt with by a very formal and solemn process. The foresters, going their rounds, reported all mastiffs to the local court, or swain-mote. The owners of the dogs were all summoned to appear at the next court day and bring the mastiffs with them. A judicial sentence was pronounced, and an operator then called in for the act of "expeditation," or "lawing," *i.e.*, laming them for life according to forest-*law*. The mastiff was persuaded to set one of his fore feet, for a moment, upon a block of wood eight inches thick and a foot square: then the man, with a mallet, setting a chisel of three inches broad upon the three claws of the fore foot, smote them, at one blow, clean off. This sounds like wanton cruelty, but one's feelings are soothed by considering that if the fierce mastiff had caught hold of a poor deer he would have torn him to pieces and have inflicted ten times the torture which he himself had undergone. This law was most rigorously enforced: and it was quite impossible for any person, even of the highest rank, to keep dogs of that kind *un*-maimed, unless he could first shew his perfect right, derived from very ancient

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[1] Old Manwood (Forest Laws, cap. 16, p. 251) quaintly says, "Budæus calleth a Mastive *Molossus*: in the old British speech they do call him a Maze-thefe and by that name they do call all manner of Barking Curres that do use to bark about men's houses in the night, because that they do *maze* and fear away *thieves* from the houses of their masters."

custom or special grant. As a further precaution it was usual to have the right acknowledged in a formal document, attested by the principal persons of the district. I have brought here for inspection a document of this kind which belongs to the Marquis of Bath's collection; which, though it relates not to Savernake, but to a forest in Somersetshire, will serve as an illustration of the law that prevailed here and in all the King's forests. It is also very curious from its antiquity, being six hundred and twenty-six years old. The Abbot of Glastonbury being, as is well known, master of vast estates, was a Lord Paramount in the West of England. His tenants were called "The Abbot's Men." This document records the solemn verdict of three separate juries, of very substantial landowners; also of verderers, regarders and other officers, of the King's forests of Mendip and Selwood, in Somerset; and Gillingham and Blackmore, in Dorsetshire; certifying to all the world, that all occupiers of land under the abbot, within the metes and bounds of those forests, are exempt and free from having their hounds maimed in the way I have described. The verdict of each jury is recorded in the upper part of the document. The lower part is cut across into about forty narrow strips, each strip carrying the seal of the several jurymen whose names are given in the upper part. It is dated A.D. 1253, the thirty-eighth year of King Henry III.[1]

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[1] Among the regulations of the forests (as given by Manwood) one or two sound strange to modern ears. If the King summoned any archbishop, earl, or baron, from the country to Parliament, such peer was at liberty as he passed through any of the King's forests to take a buck, in the view of the forester. If the forester was not at hand, then the wayfarers, after blowing a horn to warn him, might proceed to kill a buck themselves. "So that," said the law, "if an archbishop be caught in the forest red-handed [busy slaughtering a buck] he shall not be arrested because he hath right by the King's leave."

If a deer was found dead or dying in a forest a regular inquest by four men was held upon the body, to ascertain how he came by his death. The verdict was solemnly registered in the warden's forest court, and the flesh, if not unwholesome, was given to the nearest spital house or hospital.

An "Inquisitio post mortem" on an animal's carcase seems ludicrous enough: but the strangest use ever made of one is mentioned by Camden. In 1275 (3 Edward I.) a Sir William Debaud, of Essex, held land of the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's, in London, by the custom of presenting a doe on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul: and a fat buck on the commemoration of the same saint,

The real key to much of forest history, the one principle which lay at the root of much of forest legislation, was the peace and safety of the King's game. Anything that interfered in the slightest degree with that was punishable. It was therefore necessary to watch that nobody felled or destroyed the thickets of the coverts, to turn them into cultivated land. This was called *assarting*, from an old French word "*essarter*," to grub up. It could only be done by special leave: and such lands are afterwards called assart lands.

There was another mode of intrusion on the peace and rest of the King's beasts, by introducing civilized men and their habitations, by building new houses, establishing trades, and in short bringing together and settling people and their works that were not there before. This was a fatal interruption to the comfort of the game. The regarder of the forest, whose duty it was to report these abominations, was particularly charged to keep an eye upon new comers and their business, especially dealers in leather, tanners, glove makers, and the like. None of these gentry were to be allowed, if possible, to settle anywhere within or near the precincts.

The sketch I have now given of forests in general, their nature and customs, helps to explain how it came to pass that these royal hunting districts were enlarged from time to time. At the first they were acquiesced in by the people, so long as they were not excessive in size, and subjects also could enjoy hunting on their own lands within the bounds. But the Norman Kings assumed the right of extending forest bounds as far as they pleased. They did not deprive people of their lands, but they made those lands subject to Royal and arbitrary control, to an extent that was most vexatious

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to be offered at the high altar in St. Paul's by Sir William and his family. The carcases were received at the steps of the choir by the Canons of St. Paul's, attired in their sacred vestments and wearing garlands of flowers on their heads. Camden himself, when a boy, saw the horns of a buck on a spear carried round about within the Church with great pomp and blowing of horns! He observes that as there was said by some to have been a Temple of Diana on the site in Roman times, the custom may have been a relic of Paganism, of which it certainly savoured more than it did of Christianity. (*Gough's Camden, Brit.*, vol. ii., p. 81.)

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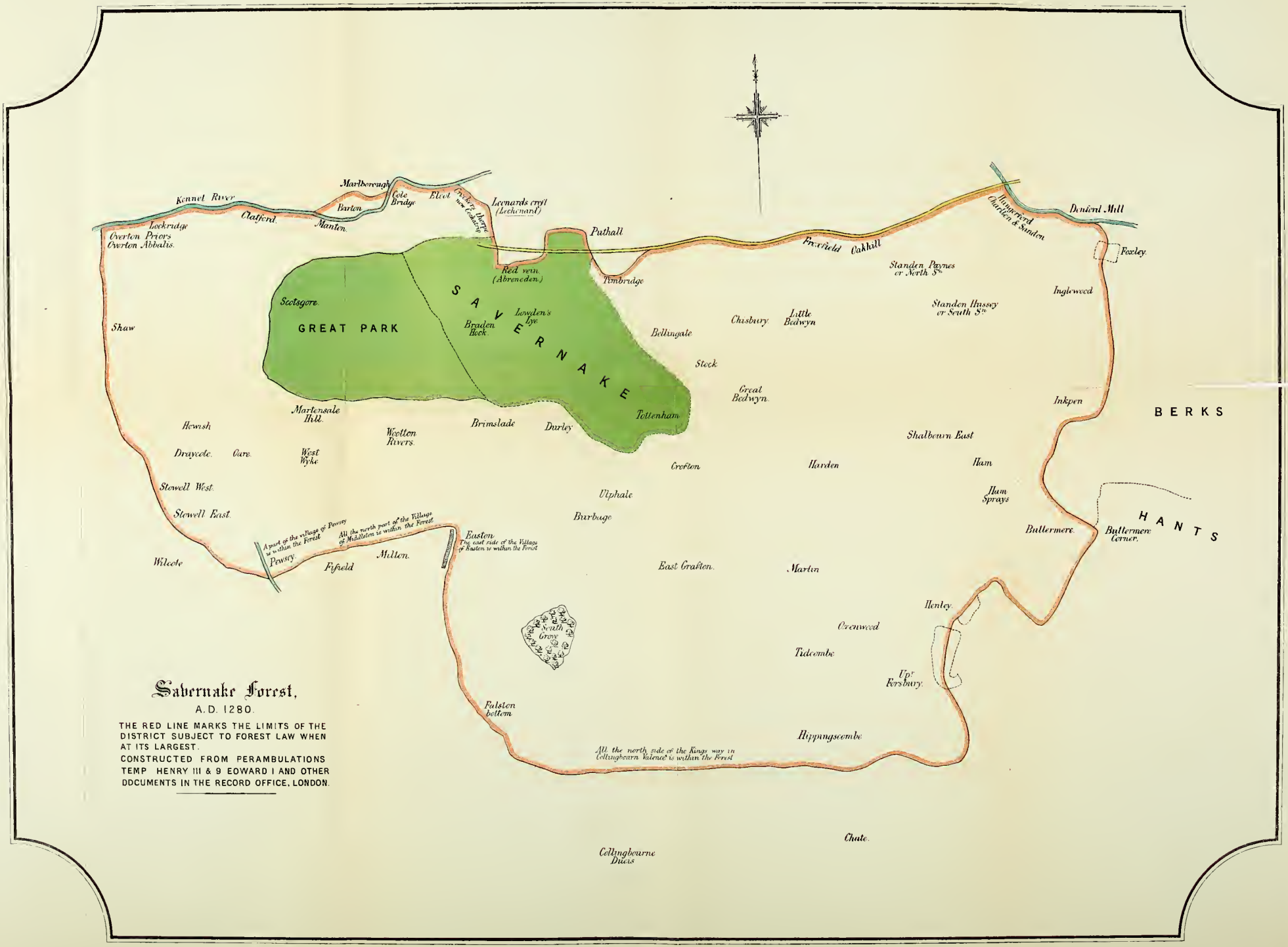

Sabernake Forrest,

A.D. 1280.

THE RED LINE MARKS THE LIMITS OF THE DISTRICT SUBJECT TO FOREST LAW WHEN AT ITS LARGEST.

CONSTRUCTED FROM PERAMBULATIONS TEMP HENRY III & 9 EOWARD I AND OTHER DDCUMENTS IN THE RECORD OFFICE, LONDON.

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to the subject and at length became intolerable. But it should be clearly understood what these Kings did. It used to be taught in my early days of learning English history, that William I., in his passionate fondness for the sport (for an old chronicle says of him that "he loved the tall stags as if he had been their father") was a monster of cruelty, who laid waste fair smiling fields in Hampshire for thirty miles, expelled the people, seized their property and demolished thirty-six—some had said fifty, some even sixty-two parish Churches! We have lived to read a more correct account of the matter. Voltaire first—after him William Cobbett and others—scouted the story as gross exaggeration. It is well told in Mr. Wise's History of the New Forest. That King William converted much rich land into waste is hardly possible, because there never was much to be converted. The soil is (geologically speaking) chiefly Tertiary gravel, sand, and drift, rich only in heath and furze. As to the vast number of Churches alleged to have been demolished, they must have stood more thickly together, and the population more dense than in any other part of England. Much of the mistake has arisen from wrong ideas as to what a forest really was. What the King did—and very likely in an arbitrary way—was to extend the law and *rights of forest* over a large tract of country that had been free from them before: but the picture of unfeeling cruelty as the story used to be told, is overdrawn.

Henry II. moderated the forest law, and others promised redress, but did not fulfil the promise. At last the Great Council of Barons compelled King John to grant the celebrated Charter of the Forests. A confirmation of that charter was obtained, but with very great difficulty, from Henry III. It directed that all woods that had been taken in, or, as it was called, *afforested*, to the prejudice of the owners, should be *disafforested*, and no more additions were to be made. A still further reduction was made in the reign of Edward I.

King Edward I. ordered, in every county, certain knights to make formal Perambulations of every forest, and to report what the actual limits then were, compared with what they had been originally. The map annexed shows how largely the Forest of Savernake had been extended. I have never seen any map of it as it was at this

ancient period, but have merely followed the words of an old Record of Perambulation, and traced its course upon our Ordnance Map, as well as I could: but there are a great many names of places in the Record which no longer exist on the Ordnance Map. It is however sufficiently correct to give you a fair general idea of the forest, when at its largest. The tinted part shows the original demesne and something more. All the rest had been added, but it is to be observed that the district so added, was never enclosed by fence or paling, so as to make one immense park. All that is meant, is, that the whole of the added or afforested parts had been placed, so far as the King's beasts and hunting were concerned, under the strict and arbitrary forest law.[1] It appears to have been divided at that time into three separate bailys, or baily wicks, the several bailiffs being all subjects to the head warden. 1. Eastwick Baily, which reached from Workaway Hill, to a spot called Braden. Southgrove and other woods are named as being disafforested in A.D. 1300. 2. The West Baily, including, I believe, Savernake proper, the Brails, and Haredon, now called Hardings. 3. Hippingscombe Baily on the south, which lay towards Chute Forest, and included part of it. The cultivated lands now called Savernake Great Park were, I believe, part of the original forest, which certainly ran a good way in the direction of Martinshill: for there is a document of the year 933 that mentions a gift to the Abbey of Wilton of some land that lay between Oare and Wansdyke, lying outside the wood called *Safernoc*. That is the oldest mention of the name that has been met with. The map, therefore, shows you what Savernake was when at its greatest; and, knowing the neighbourhood, you will understand better what a forest really meant. It included every variety of ground: not all belonging to one or two large properties, but at that time in a multitude of owners' hands. It included rich land, arable and pasture, in the lower grounds; open woods, such as the Brails, enclosed parks, as

[1] It may be as well to mention that the two Perambulations, headed "Savernak" in *Wilts Mag.*, iv., 201, describe the three Bailys thus:—The first, p. 201, applies to Eastwick Baily, including Savernake proper and the Old Savernake Park: and names Southgrove and other woods. At p. 204, line 2, begins the circuit of Westridge or West Baily. The one beginning in the lower part of p. 204 is that of Hippingscombe Baily.

Sudden Park, the Red Deer Park, and others; commons, all now taken in, as at Bedwyn, Stock, Knowl, Chisbury, Clench, Pewsey, and Tidcomb; also downs; in short all, of all sorts, that lay between Workaway Hill on the west, and nearly to Kintbury, beyond Hungerford, on the east; and from north to south all from Marlborough to beyond the Collingbournes, and round to Buttermere corner. Within this large district certain licenses were granted by the Crown to different proprietors; a few of which I would just name, as illustration of the forest history that has been given. Matthew de Columbars of Chisbury (of one of the oldest Wilts families), was privileged to have the hounds within his manor, exempt from expeditation. The churchmen of those days, being very powerful, obtained grants in favour of their tenants. The Prior of Marlborough had rights of feeding in the Forest, for oxen and cows. The Abbot of Hyde, near Winchester, the same. The Bishop of Salisbury had a chace for wolves and hares at Stitchcomb. The Prior of Ogbourn another. But complaints were made, against the two last named, that they were occasionally encroaching, to the damage of the King.

The map enables me to explain another matter. When we speak of those parts of our great metropolis that are occupied by the not best conducted sort of society, resorts of thieves and outcasts of all kinds, we are apt to call them *purlieus*; as the haunts of all that is bad. It is a curious misuse of the word, being directly the contrary of what it originally meant. In the time of Edward I., when the overgrown forests were reduced to the original size of what in early days had been simply the King's private demesne, all that remained outside of the original forest obtained the name of "*pur-lieu.*" The word is said to be derived from the French *pur*=clean, and *lieu*=place: meaning that part which henceforth became clear and exempt from the rigorous forest law, to which it had been subject. The real purlieus of London are not its dens of filth and iniquity, but just the very opposite, those open spaces outside the crowded city, such as the parks. These are comparatively exempt from the rigorous laws and inconveniencies of the streets: just as the purlieu of the forest meant those parts which lay outside the original forest, and were no longer subject to the tyranny of its regulations.

The four bailys just mentioned, into which the whole was divided, had each its separate head forester, some of whose names are preserved. The office seems to have descended in certain families, and was attached to some land which they held in right of their office. The West Baily was held for many years by the family of Harden. Hippingscombe Baily, by that of Pipard. Southgrove, by the Malwayns who had land in West Grafton in right of their office. Eastwick, by the Boncliffes. The principal wardens were the Esturmy family, of Wolfhall, to whom appears to have been granted the King's original demesne of Savernake proper. This was a family of extreme antiquity. The name of Savernake, though, as I have mentioned, it occurs in 933, one hundred and fifty years before Domesday Book, still is not found in that record itself in A.D. 1086; but the name of *Sturmid* is found there, and as the Richard Sturmid there mentioned appears as holding land at Burbage, Harden, Shalbourne, and (as a King's officer) at Huish in this neighbourhood, and at Cowsfield in South Wilts, which is still called Cowsfield Sturmy; and as certain lands at Cowsfield and Burbage formed part of the perquisites of the Warden of Savernake, there can be no doubt that Savernake existed and was included under some other place in the Domesday record, and was held by the Sturmy family. The original grant of Savernake was confirmed to them by King John: who also bestowed upon Thomas Esturmy, his valet (as he is called), being made a knight, as a testimonial of respect upon the occasion, a scarlet robe, with a cloak of fine linen, another robe of green or brown, a saddle and a pair of reins, a cloak against rain, a couch or bed, and a pair of linen sheets. This family did not hold the forest altogether free, for every now and then they paid a fine of 250 marks to the Crown for the privilege. There was a Sir William Esturmy, Speaker of the House of Commons, in the reign of Henry IV., of whom I shall say little, as he encouraged the Commons to seize upon the property of the Church; so that if anybody cares to read more about this member of an earlier Liberation Society, I refer them to Manning's Lives of the Speakers, p. 35. Of another member of the Sturmy family, in 1315, a strange story is recorded, that he and others broke into the park of the Bishop of

Salisbury at Ramsbury, for which they were excommunicated; and that Henry Esturmy, the elder, was stripped to his shirt, and whipped round the Marlborough Market Place by the Vicar! One or two stories about them are printed in Mr. Waylen's History of Marlborough. They continued here as principal owners for about three hundred and forty years. The last male of the family, Sir William, died in 1426, possessed of a considerable part of this neighbourhood, and holding Savernake Forest and West Baily, as of Marlborough Castle. His daughter and heiress married Roger Seymour, of Hatch Beauchamp, Co. Somerset, and so all the Esturmy possessions passed to the great historical House of Seymour. The old house at Wolfhall had been the principal residence of the chief owner of Savernake, and the property adjacent; but the Seymours left it for Tottenham. I have no account of royal visits to Savernake, except one of King James I. He was passionately fond of hunting, and was frequently at Wilton for the purpose with the then Earl of Pembroke. The King came to Savernake, and a young gentleman of good family, of the name of Waldron, was killed in his presence in Tottenham Park, by the rebound of a stag.

I do not propose—even if our time would allow—to carry down these memoranda of Savernake through the time of the Seymour owners; because you will find something about them and their connection with it in a paper in the Society's *Magazine* (vol. xv., 140); but will only add, that from the Seymours it passed (along with other large property in this neighbourhood) by an ultimate heiress into the hands of the family whose present representative has done us the honour to preside to-day at our meeting. He has also kindly bidden you to enjoy the scenery and share the hospitality of Savernake Forest, without any fear of your dogs being expeditated, or yourselves summoned as trespassers before any Justice "Itinerans." On your way you will see a column placed in 1781, by Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury, partly in gratitude to an uncle for the estates; partly in commemoration of the recovery of health by King George III. Also at the House you will see the celebrated Savernake Horn (fully described in our *Magazine*—vol. vi., 265—by the Rev. John Ward, formerly Vicar of Great Bedwyn), and the magnificent pedigree of

the Seymour family, both of which His Lordship was so kind as to shew us, when we were all twenty years younger. Savernake Lodge you will not see, for it was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1861. Also you will see two Churches, Cadley and St. Katharine's, which must not be passed over without one remark. In ancient times, forests had a very demoralising effect. They generally contained a very scattered population, rather inclined to make free both with the "vert and the venison" (of which we have been speaking): being concealed from the observation of society by these magnificent patriarchs of the forest, "as old as the world." The Roman Catholic Church, to their credit be it said, did not neglect the by-ways and out-of-the-way places, but in the middle of these ancient forests generally provided some chapel—small it might be, but still a chapel—and an endowed chaplain and services, in order that even in the roughest and wildest districts, the Christian religion might have its representative place and officer. In Selwood Forest, though it is very little known, a building of that kind still stands; converted into a cottage. I do not remember to have met with any mention of any chapel of ancient date within the limits of the present Savernake. The only notice of anything of the kind that has come under my observation is an entry in the Journals of the House of Commons, 14th February, 1656, when "a Bill was brought in for the erecting of a Church, settling a ministry and establishing a parish in the parks of Brimslade, and forest or chase of Savernake, and parts adjacent, belonging to and part of the said forest." It "was read a first time, and, upon the question, ordered to be read a second time, on that day seven-night." But I cannot find anything more about it. All reproach, however, arising from want of chapel or church has now been for several years wiped away, by the erection of the two beautiful buildings that now adorn Savernake; by whom and when built, it is superfluous for me to remind the inhabitants of Marlborough. Another modern ornament—I do not allude to any particular architectural decoration, but a real ornament—to Savernake, such as any building must be that has been supplied by benevolent hearts and hands to benevolent purposes, is the Cottage Hospital of 1871.

"On British Stone and Earthworks on the Marlborough Downs."

By the Rev. A. C. Smith, M.A.

[Read before the Society at the Annual Meeting at Marlborough, August 12th, 1879.]

THE district which the Society visits this year is (I venture to say) the richest in British remains of any in our county; and I say this advisedly, not forgetting Stonehenge and the accumulation of barrows and other earthworks surrounding it: but on the Marlborough Downs we not only possess specimens of almost every variety of British stone and earthworks which have come down to our times; but, in several instances, such admirable examples as we shall look for in vain thus congregated together in any other spot in our county; and if not in our county, then not in England generally, for where else shall we look for *British* remains which can be compared with those which Wiltshire exhibits?

This is no mere opinion of my own taken up for the occasion: but our great pioneer in the antiquities of our county, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in his magnificent work on North Wilts, wrote,[1] "In no part of Wiltshire are British antiquities more frequent or interesting than in the immediate neighbourhood of Marlborough, a circumstance which may probably arise from its vicinity to the grand sanctuary at Abury"; and again in the same volume,[2] "To whatever point we direct our steps in the neighbourhood of Marlborough, we shall find objects, either of British or Roman antiquity, to instigate our spirit of research, and to attract our enquiry." While in reference to the Roman æra he adds,[3] "Marlborough and its neighbourhood are the most interesting places which, as an antiquary,

[1] Page 34.

[2] Page 13.

[3] Page 89.

I have yet met with: its environs abound with British antiquities: and (with regard to Roman remains) I know of no situation in our island which can boast of two decided stations, situate so near to each other, the one at Mildenhall, in the vale of the river Kennet, the other at Folly Farm, on an adjoining hill to the south above the river, and which may therefore be respectively called "Upper and Lower *Cunetio*."

With this assertion of the richness of this immediate district, I now proceed to point out whereof our relics of the early British population consist: but as within the brief limits of a paper to be read before the Society, I shall have no time to enter into details, I can do little more than adduce samples of the stone and earthworks, many of which we shall see during our two days' excurison, and can only call your attention in the most cursory manner to the great examples around us.

For the sake of clearness, and in order to proceed on some system, I propose to divide these British remains into two groups, viz, "Stoneworks" and "Earthworks."

Of Stoneworks we have:—

(1) "Temples."
(2) "Avenues."
(3) "Cromlechs," or "Kistvaens."
(4) Smaller "circles of stones."

Of Earthworks we have:—

(1) "Camps," (fortresses, strongholds, or castles.)
(2) "Trackways," or roads of communication.
(3) "British Villages," or Pit-dwellings.
(4) "Barrows," Sepulchral or other Mounds.
(5) "Boundary Ditches."
(6) "Cattle Pens," or other Earthen Enclosures.

To begin with the Stoneworks of the Ancient Britons, which remain to us in this neighbourhood. Rude without doubt and shapeless are the ponderous masses of stone as we now see them, but though worn by time and weather of what bulk and weight many of them now are! how cleverly poised on end! and what skill those

early builders must have possessed to drag them from the Overton Downs, and place them in the exact position they were meant to occupy! It is still a puzzle to archæologists to account for the manner in which these stones were moved, but I think they prove that those who handled them had far more mechanical knowledge and skill than we, perhaps in our superiority of civilization, are generally inclined to allow them.[1]

(1) As regards TEMPLES. It is enough for me to mention Abury, the largest and noblest temple of the early Britons to be found in this island. But I do not think that by the general public Abury is half so much appreciated as it deserves: its extent is so great; the stones that remain are scattered over so large a space, and the whole arrangement is so difficult to realize, encumbered as the sacred precincts are with the houses of the modern village, as well as walls and hedge-rows which intersect it, that the magnificence of the original work is overlooked. To arrive at a correct estimate of Abury it is absolutely necessary to come to statistics, and I must ask your indulgence, while I try to exhibit, by means of a few figures, the vast dimensions of this mighty work. Consider, in the first place, its vast *area*, 28 acres or 1400 feet in diameter; enclosed within a circular *fosse* or ditch, which in depth is 33 feet below the level of the meadows in the interior, and 9 feet wide at the bottom: and this fosse flanked on the outside by a *vallum* or rampart, which rises 34 feet above the surrounding field, so that the whole slope of the vallum on the inside is upwards of 70 feet: and about half-way between the top of the mound and the bottom of the fosse is a flat ledge, 12 feet wide, supposed to have been for spectators at the public festivals.

Then consider the sacred area thus protected by so gigantic a fosse and rampart, surrounded immediately within the fosse by an outer circle of one hundred massive stones, and containing within this enclosure two circular temples, each of which was composed of an outer circle of thirty stones, and an inner circle of twelve stones;

[1] See my paper "On the Method of Moving Colossal Stones, as practised by some of the More Advanced Nations of Antiquity," read before the Society at Salisbury, September, 1865. *Magazine*, vol. x., pp. 52—60.

while in the centre of the northern inner circle stood three stones, forming the "Cove"; and in the centre of the southern inner circle one stone, known as the "Obelisk."

These two circular temples are easily passed in review and soon forgotten, but when I remind you that Stukeley affirmed that either of them was *four times as large as Stonehenge*,[1] and Aubrey had formally declared that "Abury does so much exceed in greatnesse the so renowned Stoneheng, as a Cathedral does a Parish Church," perhaps you can form some idea of the imposing grandeur of Abury. However mutilated, as it has been by ruthless man, enough yet remains to mark what were once its gigantic proportions: and if you stand beneath one of the most massive stones, belonging to the southern temple, calculated to weigh sixty tons; or if you halt within the "Cove," at the centre of the northern temple, and look up at the gigantic mass towering above, said to be the largest, as it certainly is the tallest stone at Abury, you cannot fail to be impressed with some faint notion of the simple grandeur of this ancient work, and even with a certain amount of awe and astonishment at the mighty prowess shown by those early builders, who could bring, even from the nearest hills, and set in their places such ponderous and unmanageable masses of stone. I need, however, linger no longer upon this temple, but refer you for farther details to the exhaustive account given in the Society's *Magazine*[2] by the talented historian of our British temples in this county, Mr. William Long; and I pass on to

(2) The AVENUES of stones which the early Britons used to erect, as august approaches to their sacred buildings. Very much as the early Egyptians placed avenues of sphinxes and obelisks to lead up to their wonderful temples; so the ancient Britons, contented with more simple materials, sometimes formed avenues of single stones set on edge, which conducted to their great sanctuaries: and here, on the way from Kennet to Abury, are still to be seen the fragments of what was once an avenue leading a full mile from Abury to

[1] Abury, page 25.

[2] Vol. iv., pp. 309—363.

the "Sanctuary" which existed (and was only a short time ago destroyed) on Overton Hill, at the southern end of the ridge called "Hackpen." Many of these stones have been broken up and carried away; others have been buried in the ground; several are fallen, and some are hidden behind hedges and within banks; but enough remain to show unmistakably where the avenue was. Of the two hundred stones which originally composed it, seventy-two were seen by Stukeley,[1] so that there is no question of its former existence, and the few that remain now, though only fallen relics, are eloquent witnesses of original grandeur. Of the other reputed avenue on the western side of Abury, I make no mention, because not a trace of it remains; but though it is doubted by many whether such an avenue ever existed, I must declare that, in my opinion, it is impossible to disbelieve the very positive assertions of Stukeley,[2] when that eminent antiquary records things which his own eyes saw; for Stukeley was certainly an honest man, however fanciful at times, when, having little data to go upon, he allowed his imagination to wander.

(3) I come next to the CROMLECHS,[3] or more correctly "Kistvaens," in which this neighbourhood (probably from the abundance of suitable stone) was once exceedingly rich: indeed there can be little doubt that at an early period of the history of this district, the Kistvaens of greater or less dimensions, must have been a favorite mode of protecting and commemorating the dead, those at least whom the survivors desired more especially to honour. I ground this opinion upon the fact that, within the memory of those now living, several instances have occurred of such monuments, or parts of such monuments, having been destroyed. Moreover the very nature of the

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[1] Page 29.

[2] Page 36. See the able defence of the Beckhampton Avenue which the Rev. Bryan King has put forth since I read this paper, published in the last number of the *Magazine*, vol. xviii., pp. 377—383.

[3] Kistvaens vary from one another in the number of supporting stones on which the covering slab is laid: in some cases (but rarely) two supporters alone uphold the superincumbent cap; but more frequently three or four, or even more pillars are met with. The word "*Cromlech*" is said to be derived from "crom," *bowed* or *bending*, and "lech," a *stone*.

district would lead us to infer that such must have been the case: inasmuch as that portion of the downs lying between Overton and Rockley is strewed far and wide with huge boulders of sarsen stones, which—though clustered more thickly in the valleys, as if the bed of some gigantic dried-up torrent—extend in smaller numbers and in scattered disorder over the surrounding hills, and thus offer close at hand the materials of which kistvaens are built.

Yet, notwithstanding their former prevalence on our downs, as I conjecture, those to which I am now about to call attention are (I believe) the only kistvaens remaining to us in this part of North Wilts, indeed the sole representatives of such monuments in the county, if we except the very interesting, though fallen, one called "Lugbury" in the extreme north-west, on the very borders of Gloucestershire, sometimes spoken of as in the parish of Littleton Drew, and sometimes as if in Nettleton, but in reality, as I understand, in the parish of Castle Combe.[1]

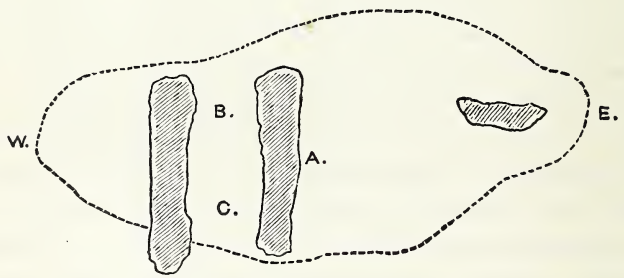
The three kistvaens, then, to which I am now referring, though all in the same neighbourhood and within a very short distance of one another, do not lie in the same valley; are thoroughly distinct from one another; and have no apparent connection. There is no more interesting portion of our downs than that wild rock-strewn district which stretches above Rockley, towards Abury; and here—each in its separate valley—these weird relics of a primitive race stood. If you take the Ordnance Map of this neighbourhood, and draw a straight line from the town of Marlborough westwards for about two miles and a-half, and then carry your eye northwards, but very slightly inclining to the west, you will find at intervals of nearly a mile apart, three "Trilithons," depicted after the manner of ordnance surveyors, and inscribed as "Cromlechs." I am thus careful to point out their exact locality, because I have been often surprized to find that to many who have lived within easy reach of these most interesting relics of antiquity, their existence has been wholly unknown, and few, I will venture to say, of the members of this Archæological Society have visited all the three kistvaens,

[1] *Magazine*, vol. iii., pp. 164—173.

which, in a more or less dilapidated condition, remain in this district of North Wilts. Though I speak of three kistvaens, I must hasten to confess that for a long period of time, they have not all presented the same perfect appearance to the visitor. One having been for many years much mutilated, partly broken up and carried away, and the remnant of it having long been hidden by an accumulation of stones from the surrounding fields, of which it has been made the depository: we will call this the "*Mutilated* Kistvaen." Another having long since fallen, and so lost its distinctive character: we will call this the "*Fallen* Kistvaen." While the third alone stands up in its original position, only denuded of the mound of earth, which, I venture to say (on the authority of Mr. Lukis and others best acquainted with these remains) at one time invariably covered them; and this massive erection of ponderous stones is known as the "*Devil's Den*," and offers an exceedingly fine specimen of the kistvaen to those who have not made the acquaintance of these ancient sepulchres in other counties. Let me now introduce my readers to each of them separately. The "*Mutilated* Kistvaen" lies in the centre of the valley known as Temple Bottom, and south-east of Temple Farm, conjectured to be so called from the preceptory of Knights Templars established there in the reign of Henry II. It occupies the corner of a field, very near some detached farm buildings on the estate of Rockley. Sir Richard Hoare spoke of it in his time as "the mutilated remains of a stone barrow, having a kistvaen at the end of it;" and said "it is the finest example we have yet found of this species of interment, excepting the one in Clatford Bottom."[1] I fear Sir Richard would not say the same of it now. When I first saw it some twenty years ago, it presented little more than the appearance of a heap of stones: indeed a great many loose stones were scattered round the large and more prominent ones, and it was choked with briars and brambles. Unpromising however as was its exterior, I had a great desire to examine its interior, and having received the ready permission of the owner of the property (the same liberal gentleman who so kindly allows

[1] North Wilts, page 42.

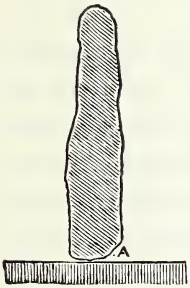
us to examine the barrows at Rockley on Thursday next, Mr. William Tanner), I enlisted the help of my friends, Mr. Lukis (then my colleague as one of the Secretaries of this Society) and Mr. Spicer, Rector of Byfleet, in Surrey, and on June 12th, 1861, we proceeded to excavate the stone chamber. With regard to the formation of the exterior part of it, whether it was originally covered with one or more roofing slabs, and whether it had a covered passage leading to it, we were unable to form any decided opinion, owing to the confusion of stones and its generally dilapidated condition: but we found a sepulchral chamber, guarded by a circle of upright stones,



Rough Sketch of Plan of Chamber.

some of them in position; and on the floor of this chamber indications of a layer of charcoal, calcined human bones, and fragments of coarse pottery: we found also several unburnt bones, portions of a human skull and teeth; some of the bones of a hand and foot; and above all a well-formed and perfect bone chisel (now in our Museum at Devizes), of which a sketch is annexed. We then examined the narrow space between the two parallel upright stones, and at **B** found unburnt bones of a hand and foot and fragments of pottery, and at **C** portions of a human skull and teeth, and a stone muller or rubber. The orientation of this chamber was probably east and west. A report of this examination was forwarded by Mr. Lukis to the Society of Antiquaries in January, 1866, and appears, with illustrations of the bone chisel, in their proceedings of that year. I have in the foregoing description availed myself of Mr. Lukis' account: and it

is by the courtesy of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries that I am enabled to reproduce his illustrations.



A. Position of Chisel.

Bone Chisel (actual size).

The "*Fallen* Kistvaen" lies about three quarters of a mile due south of that in Temple Bottom, and owing to the heath and furze which abound thereabouts is not easily discovered. Parts of the mound which once covered it, and some of the stones which apparently surrounded it, are still to be seen. When I first became acquainted with it—some twenty-five years ago—the covering stone, a very massive slab, was entire, but one or more of its supporters having given way, it had slid from its original position, and rested on the ground, still, however, in part upheld by some of its props; and thus, though fallen, presenting an interesting specimen of the kistvaen. When, however, I visited it about ten years since (and I generally do visit it annually), judge of my dismay at finding the

capstone split across by some workmen, who—ignorant that it differed in any respect from the many other sarsen stones lying all round—had selected that unfortunate stone for some building purpose. To arrest the work of destruction was not difficult, for on communication with the then owner, Mr. Baskerville, orders were immediately given that the stones should be spared; and now that the property has passed into the hands of the noble President of this Meeting, we need not fear any farther injury to it. The indifference of the stone-masons to the covering stone of the kistvaen is not so surprizing when even so good an antiquary as Aubrey relates how he and Dr. Charleton pointed it out to His Majesty Charles II. and the Duke of York as one of the stones intended for Stonehenge, and "resting on three low stones, as a suffulciment as in order to be carried away"!

The remaining kistvaen, in Clatford Bottom, will not detain us long. It is not only perfect in condition, but of very grand dimensions; moreover it is well known to everybody in this neighbourhood, and will be visited by the Society on Thursday. I may mention that I was told some years since, by an old man hoeing turnips near, that if anybody mounted to the top of it, he might shake it in one particular part. I do not know whether this is the case or no, though it is not unusual where the capstone is upheld by only three supporters. But another labourer whom I interrogated once informed me that nobody could ever pull off the capstone; that many had tried to do so without success; and that on one occasion twelve white oxen were provided with new harness and set to pull it off, but the harness all fell to pieces immediately! As my informant evidently thought very seriously of this, and considered it the work of enchantment, I found it was not a matter for trifling to his honest but superstitious mind: and he remained perfectly unconvinced by all the arguments with which I tried to shake his credulity.

I should mention, in connection with this part of my subject, the *stone chambers* contained in the long barrows, which are not to be confounded with the other barrows, but are the work of a distinct and older race, contain interments peculiar to themselves, and are

generally of very considerable magnitude. Such was the famous Long Barrow of Kennet, which was opened by the late Dr. Thurnam, under the auspices of the Society, on the occasion of our former Meeting at Marlborough, in 1859.[1]

Neither should we confuse with the cromlech proper the graves formed of massive sarsens, placed a foot or so beneath the level of the soil; and (so far as we know to the contrary) not covered with stone or tumulus above-ground: such have been found within the last few years in my own parish of Yatesbury, and on several occasions, as Mr. Nelson Goddard can testify, on the property of that gentleman, above the hill in the parish of Clyffe; two or three huge sarsen stones forming most efficient protection to the body they covered.

(4) The only other species of stone work which remains for me to consider is the smaller Circle of Stones, whether for religious or other purposes. I have already mentioned that which once existed on the southern end of Hackpen, overhanging the river Kennet, above the village of East Kennet, the "Sanctuary," as it was called, so fully described by Stukeley[2] as venerated by the whole neighbourhood, but every vestige of which is alas! now gone: we shall pass by the site of it on Thursday. A small circle of stones also existed at Winterbourne Bassett, as described by Sir Richard Hoare,[3] and vestiges of it remain to this day. Another circle of stones was recorded by Aubrey as existing in his day in a lane leading from Kennet to Marlborough. But I here wish to call the special attention of the Society to a remarkable circle, or rather segment (I ought to call it) of a circle, which I discovered two years since about a mile south of Silbury, and which I mentioned in the *Magazine* at that time.[4] I was led to the discovery by the suspicious appearance of certain sarsen stones, which, though scattered in no regular form, appeared as if they might have once stood erect, in some sort of order, on the segment of a large circle. Subsequent visits to the

[1] *Magazine*, vol. x., pp. 130—135.

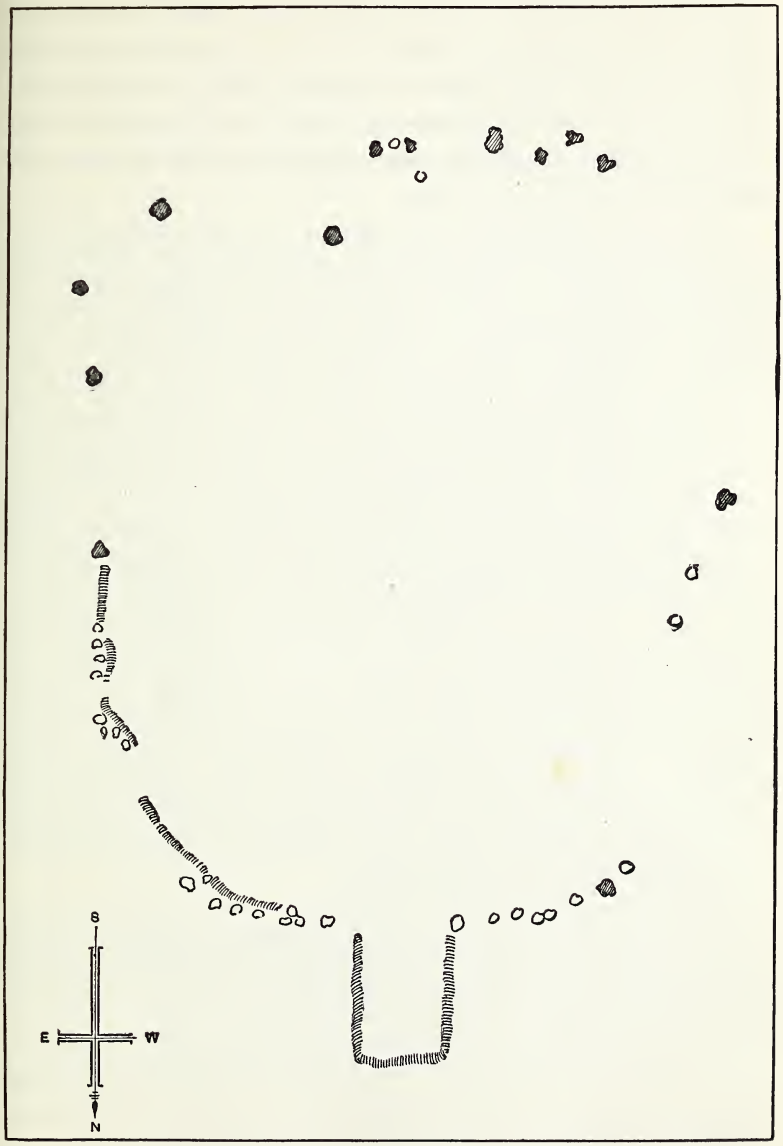
[2] Abury, page 31.

[3] North Wilts, page 94.

[4] Vol. xvii., pp. 253—4.

spot only confirmed my previous conjecture, and closer examination revealed sundry other stones just showing above ground, and there also seemed to be faint indications of a trench, all pointing, with more or less accuracy, to the supposed circle. I will not occupy the time of the Society with the details of my investigation, the result was that (with the permission of both owner and occupier of the land, and assisted by Mr. William Long, the author of Stonehenge and Abury) I probed the ground in every direction and uncovered the turf wherever a stone was found: and on our first day's work we unearthed no less than twenty-two sarsens, all forming part of the circle, and lying from two to twelve inches below the surface. These stones were all of small size, some of them very small:[1] but that they were placed by the hand of man in the positions they now occupy, in many cases nearly touching one another; and that they formed part of a large circle or oblong, admits, I think, of no doubt. I say part of a circle, because, though the northern, southern and eastern segments are tolerably well defined, I could find scarcely a single stone on what should be the western segment to complete the circle. That the area thus enclosed is not insignificant will appear from the diameter (in length, or from north to south, 261 feet, and in breadth, or from east to west, 216 feet). Again, its position (due south of Silbury, and within full view of it, as well as of the Sanctuary on Overton Hill, and with Abury immediately behind Silbury, due north of it, from which also Silbury is equidistant) seems to intimate that it may have had some connection with the great Temple. I cannot ascertain the existence of any other similar circle of diminutive stones in this county, though perhaps some of my brother archæologists may enlighten me on this point. In Denmark such circles are not uncommon, frequently of very trifling dimensions, with a diameter of 20 to 25 or 30 feet, and oftentimes diverging into other (frequently strange and irregular) shapes, and composed of small stones. But what may have been the

[1] In the accompanying plan the stones above ground are shaded; and (for the sake of distinctness) all the stones are given on a much larger scale than they really are, in reference to the diameter of the circle, which is drawn on the scale of a quarter-of-an-inch to sixteen feet.



Stone Circle, one mile south of Silbury.

intention of these Danish circles and squares and triangles, abundant though they are on the coast of Jutland, I do not think the Danish antiquaries have ever determined.[1] I am very glad that the Society will visit our Wiltshire circle on Thursday; and I trust some light may be thrown on this mysterious problem, if from no other, at any rate from the President of our Society, than whom there is no better authority on British antiquities.[2]

I come now to the second division of my subject, the EARTHWORKS of the early Britons. However worn down and depressed from their original elevation many of them may be from atmospheric and other influences through so many centuries, they will be found by any who take the trouble to measure them, still to be of considerable proportions, indeed when we take into account the very primitive implements which alone those who made them possessed, their dimensions are in some cases perfectly astonishing: for the scoops with which they dug out the soil of which they are made, could be formed of no better material than wood or stone or horn or bone, and they would have carried the earth or stone so quarried in nothing better than baskets, probably (as with modern uncivilized nations) on their heads. But as we examine some of the larger works, such as the huge ditch and bank which surrounds the mystic circle of Abury; or the mighty boundary of Wansdyke, or the vast mounds of Silbury and that in the Marlborough College grounds, we are amazed no less at the daring of the architect whose brain conceived such immense designs, than at the perseverance of the workmen who carried out these herculean tasks.

[1] For an exemplification of such diminutive stone circles, oblongs, triangles, and other forms, see the Plan of the Promontory of Hjortehammer "Plan af Hjortehammers Odde ved Tromtö, Forkjærla Sogn," in the Danish "Blekinske Mindesmærker," by J. J. A. Worsaae. The circles on the shore of the Island of Amirom were first described in the German publication Kieler Berichte, xx., p. 17—22, cited (with copy of the drawing) in Worsaae's Slesiigs Oldtidsmvnder, p. 98, from which they are reproduced in the Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. xxiii., p. 187, in a translation of Worsaae's "Antiquities of South Jutland or Sleswick," by Mons. C. C. A. Gosch, Attaché to the Danish Legation.

[2] The Society did visit the circle, and much interest was shown in the work. No one, however—not even Sir John Lubbock—could give any opinion as to its probable object.

(1) Of CAMPS we have two excellent specimens, both of which we shall see in our excursions, "Martinsell," and "Barbury." They both occupy most commanding situations, each on the brow of a hill, from which their defenders could have kept a good look out, and which it would have been difficult for an enemy to surprize.

The camp at Martinsell has been described as "an oblong square in shape, except towards the east, where it bends inwards in order to humour the natural shape of the hill." [1] Perched on the summit of a precipice, it seems to have needed comparatively weak earthen works for its defence, for the entrenchment consists of a single bank and ditch only. These however prove its British origin, and would lead one to suspect it had not been made use of in Roman or Saxon times, as was the case with so many of these camps, when the latter occupants generally added considerably to the earthen ramparts, and strengthened the defences which sufficed for the earlier and ruder warriors. Its area comprises no less than thirty-one acres, and Sir Richard Hoare gave it as his opinion that is was probably an asylum to which the Britons, who were very numerous in its environs, sent their families and herds in times of danger.

An admirable example of the way in which the Saxons thus enlarged and strengthened the British works of which they availed themselves, will be seen in the other camp we shall visit, that called "Barbury Castle." This strong earthwork is oval in form, having entrances towards the west and east, the former of which is protected by a barbican, part of which has been much defaced by the plough, but the natural steepness of the ground towards the west rendered any additional out-work unnecessary: it has double ramparts, and contains an area of twelve acres; the circumference of the work is estimated at half-a-mile, and the height of the ramparts no less than 47 feet. It was very probably the scene of action where Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons in the year 556, as recorded in the Saxon Chronicle.[2]

(2) Of British "TRACKWAYS" we have a very excellent example,

[1] Sir R. C. Hoare's North Wilts, page 9.

[2] Sir R. C. Hoare's North Wilts, page 41. "An DCVI. Hoc anno Cynricus et Ceawlinus acrè dimicabant contra Britannos ad Beranbyrig."

and a part of this we shall traverse on Thursday morning, when we leave Barbury Castle. It is sometimes known as the "Ridge-way" from its general position, skirting, as it does, for the most part, the ridge of the hills. This trackway descending from Salisbury Plain near Redholn turnpike, crosses the Pewsey Vale, where it leaves traces of its course in the names of Broad *Street* and Honey *Street*, ascends the hill near the village of Alton, and may be traced as it steers for East Kennet, crossing Wansdyke on its way. Thence it pursues a northern direction, till it reaches Hackpen Hill, whence it winds along the edge of the line of hills stretching towards Barbury, and from thence passes on by Liddington Castle into Berkshire. Even to the present day this old British road is to some extent used; but before turnpikes were abolished, it was generally frequented by drovers, who conducted their cattle through the whole length of the county, with scarce any deviation on the hard roads: and, within the memory of living men, was taken advantage of by smugglers, who carried their contraband goods from the southern coasts into the heart of England by this lonely and unfrequented route.

(3) Of "Pit-dwellings," or the vestiges of a British village, we can hardly find a better example than is to be seen on Huish Hill, which we purpose to visit to-morrow. Occupying a long tract of down, and irregular in plan; formed on no system, but protected in a measure by banks and ditches, and having a communication with the adjoining camp by means of a covered road, these unsymmetrical pits offer a very perfect specimen of a British village which has never received additions from a more modern nation, but is entirely original and purely British. Such is the substance of the account of them which was given by Sir Richard Hoare sixty years ago,[1] and from that time to this, no Archæologist has arisen to throw any light on these mysterious dwellings, or (so far as I know) to pursue the enquiry as to their relative positions, their original shape or their structure; albeit an enquiry of undoubted interest, but to be pursued only at an expenditure of hard work with the pick and the spade, not to mention much dogged resolution and much determined perseverance. Other examples of these pit-dwellings we shall see on

[1] Ancient Wilts, page 11.

the eastern declivity of Martinsell: these pits, which are now, through the effect of weather in a long course of ages, little more than depressions in the turf, are of more regular form and plan, ranged somewhat in order, and having lines of communication between them. It is generally supposed that these pit-dwellings were protected from wind and rain by some sort of covering, whether of thatch or of skins, after the manner of modern Troglodytes in barbarous countries; but in truth very little is accurately known in regard to the habitations of the early Britons. Other examples of these pit-dwellings may be seen on the Marlborough Downs, on the sides of the hills above Calstone, on Hackpen Hill overhanging Abury, on the southern slopes of Tan Hill, and on many other similar slopes, for in the time of the Britons the downs were the inhabited portions of the country, while the valleys were either covered with forest, or were little better than morasses and swamps.

(4) Of the "Barrows" which stud our downs in such profusion it is unnecessary for me to say much; but I will remind those who are not so familiar with them that these burial places of the early Britons are by no means of one uniform pattern, but differ from one another in shape as well as in size, and it is worth while to point out not only the great variety of form which these tumuli take, but the remarkable elegance of shape and regularity of construction which characterize so many of them; an elegance and a regularity which I make bold to assert would be imitated by our skilled workmen of the present day with the greatest difficulty, if indeed they could be reproduced at all: moreover many of them retain to this day the perfect symmetry of their original construction. Admirable examples of all the various forms of barrows occur on the downs between Marlborough and Shepherd's Shore, more especially in two groups which lie in the plain below Oldbury Camp, where perfect specimens may be seen of the *round*, the *cone*-shaped, the *bowl*-shaped, the elegant *bell*-shaped with the swelling lip, the *pond* (or *disc*-shaped), the *oval*; and each containing; either beneath the original surface, the *kist* or grave in the chalk, in which was deposited the body of the dead; or else an urn containing the ashes and burnt bones which were collected after cremation of the body. Quite

distinct from these are the *long barrows* containing the stone chamber at the east end, formed of massive stones with entrances of stone, to which I alluded just now. I should add that the barrows on the Marlborough Downs are declared by Sir Richard Hoare to be more ancient than those of South Wilts.

I cannot leave this part of my subject without making mention of the great mound at Marlborough, and the still larger mound of Silbury, certainly the largest tumulus in Great Britain, and if we except one or two in Russia, the largest in Europe: but whether or no these are spulchral, must be matter of conjecture for the present, though I for one entertain a firm belief that such was their primary intention; and I am not without hopes that we may on some future occasion (if permitted by the owner) probe once more the sides of Silbury, in hopes of discovering the sepulchre or one of the sepulchres which I strongly suspect lies somewhere within that enormous pile.[1]

(5) "Boundary Banks and Ditches." Wherever you may traverse any tract of down undisturbed by tillage, you are almost certain to see banks and ditches stretching over the turf in some direction; boundary ditches, perhaps, to mark off the territory of bordering aboriginal tribes or clans, or the domain of one chieftain from that of his neighbour. They vary from the scarcely-perceptible elevation or depression on the undisturbed turf to the bank or ditch of considerable size. But besides these insignificant divisions, there were other boundary banks and ditches, thrown up with immense labour, to protect the encroaching Belgæ from the exasperated Britons whose lands they had overrun. Thus as they advanced from the south, and pushed on their conquests towards the north, the Belgæ secured the country they had gained, by a formidable barrier of protection, with the ditch towards the north and the bank towards the south. Several of these may be seen in the south of the county, in the well-known "*Bokerly Ditch*," south of Salisbury, and that

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[1] See my paper on Silbury, read before the Society at Abury during the Annual Meeting at Marlborough, September, 1859: and printed in the *Magazine*, vol. vii, pp. 145—191.

known as the "*Old Ditch,*" north of Amesbury: but the best example of all (assuming that it is a Belgic rampart, as is now generally allowed) we have on the Marlborough Downs, in the famous "*Wansdyke,*" a fragment of which we shall cross to-morrow, and which was the last and northernmost of these great earthen barriers, which the encroaching invaders erected. There is no finer specimen throughout England of a boundary ditch of the British period than Wansdyke presents from Blackland Hollow till it loses itself in the West Woods, and those only who have followed its meandering course along the ridge of the intervening hills, over those ten miles, have any notion what an immense work of labour its construction must have been. I should add, however, on the authority of the late Mr. Kemble, that Wansdyke was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons, as had been previously pointed out by Sir Richard Hoare.[1]

(6) "Cattle Pens," or other earthen enclosures. Scattered over the downs in various directions, but most numerous, as it appears to me, in the immediate neighbourhood of Wansdyke, are the small enclosures, oftentimes square, sometimes oblong, and generally divided internally with other ditches or banks, which have puzzled many antiquaries to determine their intention. Elsewhere I have ventured to consider some of the smaller of these enclosures to be *Cattle-Pens*;[2] though others again in all probability served as entrenchments or small camps. They are very numerous on the Horton and Bishops Cannings Downs, and there is a very perfect specimen on the Abury Downs, which Stukeley calls a "Druid's House" or "Court," though (like many other of the assertions of that excellent antiquary) it has no other basis for such designation than the surmise of its author, a surmise founded chiefly (as he tells us) on its being within sight of the great temple, and at a convenient distance from it; hardly sufficient reasons, however, to commend themselves to more prosaic archæologists.

The instances which I have given above of the various stone and

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[1] Ancient Wilts, page 27.

[2] *Magazine*, vol. xi., page 245—251.

earthworks on the downs of North Wilts are only specimens to show how rich is that locality in remains of the early Britons. There is a great deal of hard work yet to be done with the pick and the spade, before we can claim to have learnt all that is to be known of the early inhabitants of this country: and nowhere in the British Isles can the archæologist find a fairer field for his investigations than on the downs of North Wilts, more particularly that portion of them that lies between Marlborough and Devizes.

[Since the above paper was printed I have received from my brother-in-law—Mons. C. A. Gosch, of the Danish Legation, London—the following interesting account of a circle in Somersetshire, which appears never to have been described. As it bears on the stone circle near Abury, which has hitherto had very little light thrown upon it, and as I desire to call the particular attention of archæologists to these remarkable and mysterious circles, I am very glad (with Monsieur Gosch's permission) to add as an appendix to my paper his description of the Somersetshire circle.]

"On the level summit of Walton Down, about half-a-mile north of the village of Walton in Gordano, near Clevedon, a path, not much frequented, leads through a remarkable circle formed by a low bank and a ditch, which strongly reminds one of the circle recently discovered near Abury, although the stones, which form so striking a feature in the latter, are wanting on Walton Down. The existence of this circle is well known to local antiquaries, but it does not appear to have been described, and as it appears to me to deserve notice—both on its own account and because it serves to illustrate the one at Abury—I venture to submit a description of it.

"It is situated in an elevated position, just opposite the beautiful and singular Camp of Cadbury, separated from the ridge which carries this and the Brough Walls by a broad green valley; Worle Hill and the Mendips are in full sight. The diameter of the circle inside the bank is about 344 feet, but varies a little in different directions on account of the irregularity of the outline. The average height of the bank may be put at about 20 inches, the depth of the ditch at about 14, so that the difference in level between the bottom

of the ditch and the top of the bank averages nearly 3 feet, but although the circle upon the whole is well preserved, the variations in these respects are considerable. The width of the bank at the base is about 7 feet, that of the ditch at top about 4, but the latter has probably been filled up in course of time to some extent. At the southern extremity of the circle is an opening, evidently designed as an entrance. On both sides of this the bank is turned abruptly outwards and continued some way together with the ditch, both becoming gradually effaced, at the same time these banks diverge, forming a very graceful approach. On the western side the bank can be followed about 35 feet, on the eastern side twice as far. The width of the approach between the banks in the spot where both are distinctly visible, is about 17 feet, but the actual entrance into the circle is only 7 feet wide, from the base of the bank on one side to the base of the bank on the other. At the northern extremity of the circle, rather to the east, there is another opening, giving access to a quadrangular enclosure beyond. The width of the opening is the same as that of the entrance just described—about 7 feet—but there is this difference, that the bank here ends abruptly on both sides of the opening, without being continued out from the circle; the enclosure is about 318 feet long, by nearly 20 feet wide, inside the bases of the banks. The banks forming the long sides are joined on to the circle, and they have shallow ditches outside, continuations of that of the circle; the western bank is very irregular and in places effaced, but the eastern is in better preservation. The north end of the enclosure is formed by a rather stronger bank with a ditch on the north side, and with an opening in the middle of the same width as the previous one. Through this opening a second enclosure is reached, very much like the first and of about the same width but only half the length—about 153 feet. The banks and ditches surrounding it are, like those of the preceding enclosure, of somewhat slighter dimensions than those of the circle, excepting the terminal bank of the whole, which is as high as any portion of the circle. The lateral banks of the second enclosure are not direct continuations of those of the first, but separated from them by the terminal ditch of the first enclosure. The end bank of the second

enclosure shows an opening like the preceding ones, of the same width, and this bank, with a ditch in front, is continued for some distance beyond the sides of the enclosure; on the eastern side the prolongation beyond the north-east corner of the enclosure can be followed for something like 150 feet in a straight line; on the west side the prolongation measures about 130, but it is not straight, being curved at the extremity towards the north. The ground inside the second enclosure is very uneven, the rock coming to the surface in many places; and it may be remarked generally that the irregularities of the whole construction are in some measure due to the natural uneveness of the ground. It should be added that a line drawn from the middle of the principal or south entrance and through the other openings to the middle of the last towards the north, would not be straight; the axis of the first quadrangular enclosure deviating to the north-east, that of the second to the north-west. To the west of the second quadrangular enclosure, at a distance of about 100 feet is a small circle formed by a very shallow ditch, without a bank, except on the north side, where it is very distinct for a short space; the diameter inside the ditch may be put at 47 feet; there is a depression in the middle, but it appears to be natural. To the east of these earthworks near the east brow of the ridge some others appear, forming the three sides of a rhomboid enclosure, the fourth being open. The west side—about 90 feet long and nearly 3 feet in height, with a shallower ditch in front—runs nearly due south and north; the southern extremity being nearly 100 feet distant from the circle, and the northern about 90 feet distant from the nearest point of the eastern bank of the first enclosure. The second side of this rhomboid figure runs north-east, forming an angle of about 120 degrees with the west side; its length is 114 feet, and from its north-eastern extremity the third side runs backwards, north to south, under an angle of about 60 degrees, consequently parallel with the first-described side, but the length of it is only 64 feet, and it ends abruptly. It does not appear for what purpose this last-mentioned earthwork could have been executed in modern times, nor is there anything about it indicating a different date from that of the circle.

"The differences between this ancient monument and the Abury circle are plain enough. The works at Walton are more complicated and more easily traceable, partly because the earth thrown out of the ditch is here formed into a little bank or mound, partly, perhaps, because the vegetation is different and less likely to level up the ground than at Abury. The limestone rock comes to the surface in many places at Walton, and the banks contain—as does indeed the whole surface of the down—numerous fragments, but there are no appearances of stones set down on purpose. At the same time the similarities are very striking, and they are evidently of one and the same family of monuments ; the presence on Walton Down of that little circle to the west, so exactly recalling the two which are plainly though faintly observable at Abury, is to say the least of it a remarkable coincidence. I do not think that any archæologist who may have gone away from Abury with some little doubt in his mind as to whether a circle really has existed there, could continue to entertain any such doubt, after having seen that on Walton Down."

A DESCRIPTION OF

Three Barrows Opened on the occasion of the Visit of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society to Marlborough,

AUGUST, 1879.

THE first of these barrows is situated in a plantation on the estate of W. H. Tanner, Esq., of Rockley, the other two are close by, on Ogbourn Down, on the estate of R. P. Tanner, Esq. It has often been remarked that the barrows on the north side of Wansdyke appear to have been constructed by a race more

uncivilized, and less skilled in the manufacturing arts, than their neighbours on the south side of that remarkable boundary. The present researches fully confirm the remark.

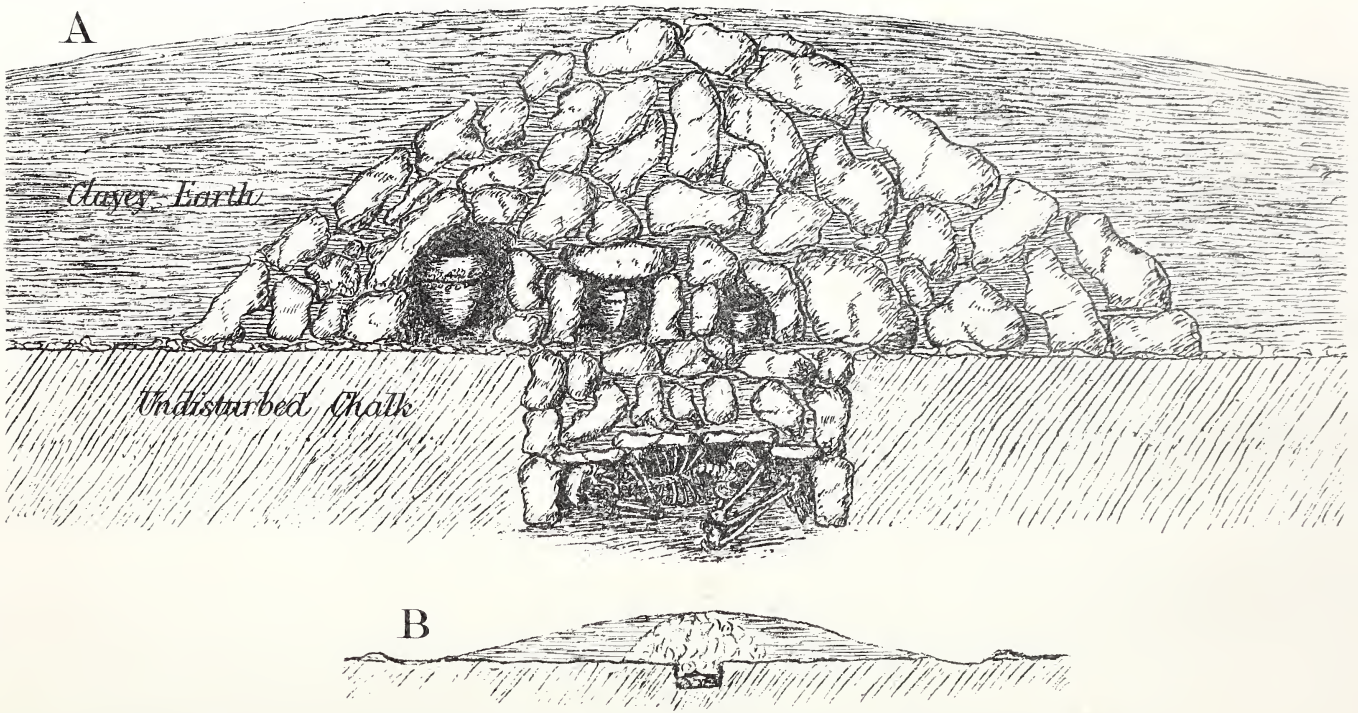
No barrow yet opened in North Wilts has yielded such magnificent results as those of Upton Lovel, or those of the Normanton group on Salisbury Plain. The pottery found is undoubtedly of a ruder type, and very imperfectly burnt, and scarcely a vestige of anything but pottery, bones, and stone implements, was found in any of the numerous early barrows opened by Dean Merewether near Avebury and Beckhampton in 1849.[1]

The barrow at Rockley, of which a diagram is given in Plate I., is an early British bowl-shaped barrow, with the rather unusual addition of a vallum surrounding it. It is 110 feet in diameter, and about 7 feet high. It was opened by a section from east to west through its centre, and it was found to be constructed principally of the loose clayey surface-soil, slightly mixed with rubble-chalk and flints. In the centre a cairn, 20 feet in diameter, had been constructed of large sarsen stones, some of which weighed three or four hundred-weight. With only one or two exceptions, these are of the dense brown variety of sarsen stone: they were probably gathered from the surface of the valley itself. Notable among them was a block, about 18 inches square of the saccharoid variety, as white and even softer than ordinary loaf-sugar.[2]

Three interments have been found, one primary, and two secondary. About the middle of the cairn, on the level of the surrounding downs, and about 2 feet apart, were placed the two urns and food-cups, as shewn in the diagram, Plate I. The urn in the diagram (in the centre, Plate II.) is a large funereal urn, 16 inches in height, and 13 in diameter. It is very imperfectly burnt, probably dried only by exposure to the sun, and then baked—rather than burnt—in the ashes of the funeral pile. When found it was in such a decaying condition that it was not possible to remove it except in a

[1] Proceedings of Archæological Institute, Salisbury Volume, p. 83.

[2] A portion of the large upright stone at Stonehenge (F 1 in Hoare's plan) is of the same soft variety of sarsen. It has accordingly suffered much at the hands of excursionists.



B. *Section of ancient British Barrow at Rockley, N. Wilts. Scale* $\frac{1}{360}$

A. *Enlarged view of the central portion of the same. Scale* $\frac{1}{48}$

Woodburytype.

1. 2. 3.

1. OGBOURNE. 2. 3. ROCKLEY.

very fractured state; it has however been successfully repaired, and is now deposited in the Society's Museum. This urn contained the bones of a young adult; they are in excellent preservation being but slightly burnt, and have been replaced in the urn exactly as they were found.

The other urn (to the right in Plate II.) is 9½ inches high, and 9¼ inches in diameter, and is in a beautifully perfect condition. It was placed in a small chamber formed of four upright flat stones with one over the top, and resembled a miniature kist-vaen. Within it was a considerable quantity of wood-ashes, and human bones, but so completely destroyed by the fire that it is impossible to say what was the age or sex of the person. On the right-hand were found the fragments of a small food-vessel, which, from the worn appearance of the edges, had probably been broken before it was deposited in the barrow (see woodcut). Both the urns were in an upright position *not* inverted.

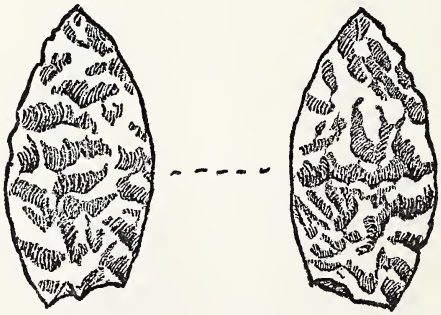
The primary interment was contained in a cist which was lined and covered over with flat sarsen stones, and then filled up with blocks of the same material to the ground level, over which was piled the huge cairn described above. It was formed in the chalk, below the natural level of the down, and was oval in form, measuring in its long diameter 6 feet, and 4 feet transversely, and about 3½ feet in depth. It contained a skeleton in extremely good preservation lying horizontally on its right side, in a flexed position, with the head to the south, the knees drawn up towards the trunk, and the hands covering the face. It was placed on the bare chalk at the bottom of the cist, and was protected from the superincumbent weight by a layer of flat sarsens, forming a rude sarcophagus, as shown in the diagram. The carefully arranged structure of this barrow did not appear to have been disturbed by the interment of the urns found, as described, in the great pile of sarsen stones above the cist; and some of the archaeologists who were present were of opinion that these urns, containing perhaps the ashes of relatives or dependents, were deposited on the occasion of the burial of the great man whose skeleton was found in the cist below. See "Archæologia," vol. xliii., p. 457.

A barrow opened by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, of Collingbourne,[1] was constructed on the same general plan, though on a much smaller scale, and with the further difference that flints were used instead of sarsen stones (flint being very abundant, and sarsens rare in that neighbourhood); and the body in the primary interment was cremated, instead of being unburnt as at Rockley.

The urns also in the secondary interment were inverted, while those at Rockley were found in an upright position.

The small round barrow (No. M. 3 c., on the Rev. A. C. Smith's map) was opened by a trench cut in the direction of north-east to south-west. It was composed simply of the surface soil of the down. About 6 feet to the north of the centre the fragments of a small drinking-cup were found, but unaccompanied by any bones or other interment. On digging to the original level of the downs, a cist, cut in the chalk, was found, two-and-a-half feet in diameter, and ten inches deep. It contained ashes and human bones very much burnt, but no pottery or any other remains.

A larger barrow (No. M. 3 a., Rev. A. C. Smith's map) was opened by a trench cut as in No. M. 3 c. About the centre of the barrow,



Leaf-shaped Arrow-head, found in a Barrow at Ogbourn.

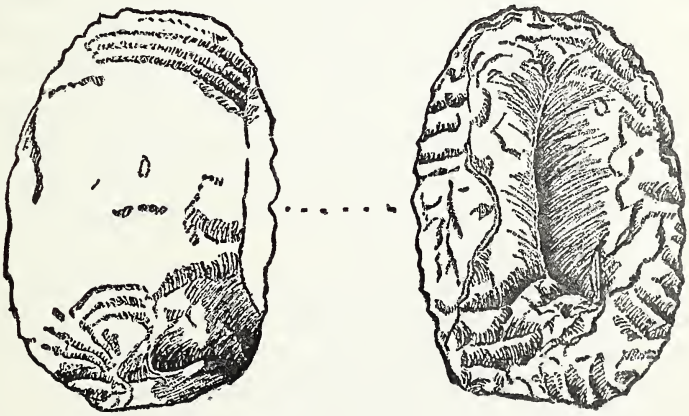
but just under the turf, a human skeleton was found, the bones of which were very much broken and disturbed by some previous opening, either by shepherds or by some more scientific observers; if by the latter they certainly missed a beautiful leaf-shaped arrow-head—one

[1] See *Wiltshire Magazine*, vol. x., pp. 102-3.

of those gems of the art of flint-flaking that were apparently made more for ornament than for use. The above engraving gives two views of it.

About two feet south of the skeleton, and not more than one foot beneath the surface, were found a layer of small sarsen stones, and under these an interment of burnt bones intermingled with wood-ashes. Twelve inches deeper the original floor of the barrow was reached, and on the west side of the trench wood-ashes in great abundance were thrown out, and from the condition of this soil it was evident an interment was near. Shortly after the urn (on the left side of Plate II.) was found, in an inverted position, but lying at an angle of about 30° over a small cist cut in the chalk.

As this barrow was not more than 3 feet in height, and the top of the urn very near the surface, it is probable that the inclined position of the urn was due to this circumstance. It was full of burnt human bones in a remarkably fresh condition, and not far



Flint Knife or Scraper, found in a Barrow at Ogbourn.

from the urn the fine flint knife or scraper was picked up, two views of which are figured above.

The best thanks of the Society are due to W. H. Tanner, Esq., of Rockley, and Robert Tanner, Esq., of Ogbourn, for the intelligent and

courteous assistance they rendered on this occasion. The success of the opening of these barrows is in a large measure to be attributed to their persevering energy.

The following description of the skeleton has been kindly furnished by George Rolleston, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, Oxford:—

"Of the skull and bones sent to me from Rockley Barrow I have to say that they appear to me to have belonged to a strong man of little if anything above 5 feet 5 inches in stature, and considerably past the middle period of life. He had suffered a good deal from the rheumatic exostosis which so commonly plagued the former inhabitants of this country in every grade of life; but on the other hand he appears to have retained his full adult complement of thirty-two teeth to the time of death. It is possible that out of some two or three sockets now filled with earth the teeth may have dropped out a short time before the death of their owner; it can, however, have been only a short time, as the sockets are but little absorbed. The teeth are very much worn, in some cases to below the level of the enamel; but there is no indication, except in one case, of any alveolar abscess having followed upon this severe tare and tret. In an ill-fed subject the case would have been very different, as Mr. Mummery has shewn in his paper on "Dental Caries," in the "Transactions of the Odontological Society of Great Britain," November, 1869, vol. ii., 1869, pp. 47, 51, 54, 60, 63.

"As regards the affinities of the owner of the skull, I should, if allowed to speculate upon the evidence furnished by the osteological remains only, say that we have here one of the hybrids produced by the intercrossing of the tall brachycephalic bronze folk with the short but dolichocephalic race of the long barrow—and stone with bone implement—period. For the characters both of skull and skeleton are intermediate between those of these two sets of men. The short stature; the lowness of skull as well as of stature, and the orthognathous character of the jaw, albeit a little exaggerated by senile absorption, point to the earlier stock; whilst the strength of the bones, skeletal and cranial both, and the brachycephalic character

itself incline us to the other view. The hypothesis of crossing will cover and combine the facts. I should be slow, in default of other evidence besides that which is furnished by the osteological remains, to aver positively that this skull must have belonged to a man of the bronze period. The comparatively perfect condition of the teeth is, however, certainly in favour of the claims of the former period, according to Mr. Mummery's examination of Dr. Thurnam's collection,[1] in which amongst sixty-eight long barrow skulls only two cases of decay were found, whilst amongst thirty-two of the later period no less than seven such cases were found.

"As individual pecularities the exceedingly low orbital index is specially noteworthy, though some doubt may exist as to its ethnological significance. Correlated with a comparatively full lower jaw we have a comparatively vertical forehead; the strength of the ridges, on the other hand, overhanging the orbits, and above all the strength indicated by the temporal and other ridges for muscular insertion on the back parts of the skull contrast rather than correspond with the weakness of the upper jaw. Something of this last peculiarity, however, is due I think to senile atrophy, which would have progressed further but for the persistence of the teeth in their somewhat wasted sockets.

"Rheumatic exostosis had beset both vertebræ and long bones; and had not spared the articular condyles of the lower jaw; impairing thus the happiness, or at any rate the enjoyment, of their owner very considerably.

"The sutures of the skull are still unobliterated on the outer surface at least of the skull; this point Dr. Thurnam would have held, I think, to be more common among the brachycephalic of the bronze than among the dolichocephalic of the stone-age. But it may have been an individual peculiarity, and so may be taken to point neither way. A peculiarity, rare, I think, in ancient skeletons, is noticeable here; the clavicles are those of a left-handed man; the right humerus being, however, longer considerably than the somewhat more roughly marked left one.

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[1] For a discussion on this point see "British Barrows," p. 701.

" Measurements of skull and long bones of skeleton from Rockley Barrow :—

Circumference	21.3
Length	7.45
Breadth	5.75
Length, breadth, index	.80
Height	5.55
Length, height, index	.76
Basi-nasal length	4.35
Basi-alveolar length	4.
Alveolar index	.90
Nasal height	2.1
Nasal width	1.1
Nasal index	.52
Orbital width	1.8
Orbital height	1.3
Orbital index	.75
Cubic capacity=95 cubic inches.	
Length of femur	17.9
Length of right humerus	13.2
Length of left humerus	12.7
Depth of lower jaw at symphysis	1.25
Width of ascending ramus	1.5
Height of articular process	2.1
Height of coronal process	2.15

" George Rolleston, M.D., F.R.S.,
" *Linacre Professor of Anatomy and Physiology,*
" *Oxford.*"

" *March* 13*th*, 1880."

Some Stray Notes from the Marlborough Court Books:

Temp. Henry VIII.

By R. W. Merriman, Esq. *(Town Clerk.)*

IT is with great diffidence and merely as an introduction to other papers of higher interest and importance that I venture to bring under your notice this evening some of the fragmentary, and I am afraid rather trivial, memoranda which—as Town Clerk of Marlborough—I have, from time to time, had the opportunity of making, from the records of the four courts, formerly exercising jurisdiction in this borough.

Of these four courts (The Court of *Piepowder*, The View of *Frankpledge*, The *Mayor's Court*, and The Court of *Morning Speech*) it will be unnecessary for me to attempt any history. Their origin, nature, and existing equivalents, have been already described by Mr. Waylen, in his history of this town.

In the years from which the present notes are drawn one still finds the dates of the court-days reckoned for the most part by reference to the holy days of the Church.

Of the Churches and religious houses and orders incidental mention occurs.

At a Court of Morning Speech, held on the 4th November, 16 Hen. VIII., come William Wynter, son and heir of John Wynter, and John Pridill, husband of Petronilla Wynter, daughter of the said John Wynter, and surrender to the Mayor and his successors, Mayors of Marlborough, all the right, claim, and title which they have or can hereafter have of a certain tenement situate in the Bailey (Ward) to the intent that the aforesaid Mayor and his successors shall see the anniversary of the said John Wynter yearly kept in the Church of Saint Peter, according to the form of the will of the said John.

At a Court of Piepowder, held on Holy Innocents Day, 16 Henry VIII., Thomas Blundell, Rector of the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, becomes surety for the good behaviour of John Tucker.

Elsewhere a gutter is described as situate between the house of Thomas Wilkes and the House of the Fraternity of the Blessed Name of Jesu, below the Church of the Blessed Peter and Paul.

The Fraternity of the Blessed Mary in the Church of the Blessed Mary is mentioned more than once. On one occasion (in October, 1525,) William Head and John Collins, stewards or agents for that society, appear as suitors against John Lewis, for a trespass, the damages being laid at 4*s.* 6*d.*, but in the following January these persons are themselves the subject of a complaint lodged against them by their employers, the co-feoffeatores of the brotherhood, on a matter of account to the extent of twenty marks.

Other presentments relate to the state of repair of the king's highway and a gutter near Saint John's, without doubt the Hospital of Saint John, the estates of which furnish the endowment of the present grammar school.

The Chapel of Saint Martins—at the east end of the town—gave then, as it does now, its name to the neighbouring highways. In the seventh year of Henry VIII. a well in the lane of St. Martins is presented as out of repair, and seven persons are ordered to amend it, under a penalty of 8*d.* apiece.

For depasturing sheep in this lane, to the number of fifty, two persons are fined in what is there described as the ancient penalty of *one penny for each foot,* with the prospect of forfeiture of the whole flock in case of repeated trespass.

At the Mayor's Court, on the 21st October, 1525, William Boswell was examined wherefore he had struck the bells of Saint Martin, on Saturday then last past, at nine o'clock at night. And he saith that it was for no other cause and for no other reason save that he was then and there drunk.

But the name of the House and Church of Saint Margaret, near Marlborough, is that which occurs most frequently. Not that the court minutes afford any insight into the history or constitution of this priory, but that entries are numerous of the constant

Mlebnigh ff cuius pedis pulvis ibidem tenetur xxvj die octobris anno pp̄ Henrici viij xvj

attach

Willmus Hed et Johannes Collyne procuratores fraternitatis beate marie virginis in ecclesia beate marie querunt versus Johannem Lekkie de plito transgressionis ad valentiam iiij^or vidi plegii Johannes underhyll

condempnatur
per est lemaij

Ricus Browne clericus prior domus sancte Margarete in iiij^m quia non se Roberto Nuttyng in plito transgressionis iij^a hora Jo preest lemaij xx^o de bonis et catallis dicti Ricii Browne ~~vel de emi~~ ad opus dicti Roberti Nuttyng

ij^a hora

Idem Ricus Browne in iiij^m quia non se dicto Roberto Nuttyng in plito transgressionis ij^a hora

disputes between the Prior of St. Margaret's and one Robert Nuttyng.

In 1516 these two persons were fined 2*s.* each for having taken excessive tolls at their mills. But companionship in misfortune failed to create any sympathy between them, for some years later (28th September, 16th Henry VIII.) we find the same Robert Nuttyng appearing as complainant against Richard Browne, Prior of Saint Margaret's for trespass "*per unum equum coloris grey*" in costs and damages to the amount of 10*s.*, and at the next court (5th October) he lodges a second similar complaint to the extent of 13*s.* 4*d.* On this second occasion the Town Clerk appears to have been in a little uncertainty about the colour of the offending horse. He first entered it as "*coloris baye,*" which description he then struck out; he began another word, but striking it through unfinished he finally fell back on "*coloris grey.*"

On the 12th of October the Prior is noted as in default, and another entry to the like effect is made at the following court (19th October).

Matters now became serious, and on the 26th October order is made to levy the 10*s.* (the damages in the first suit) of the goods and chattels of the said Richard Brown, for the use of the said Robert Nuttyng.

Meanwhile the Prior must have bestirred himself, for at the same court there is presented on his behalf a writ of certiorari, removing all proceedings against him into "Our Chancery." This writ, which is tested the 20th October, 1525, affords an illustration of the grant of the borough by King Henry VIII. to his first Queen. It is addressed to the Mayor and Constables of Katharine, Queen of England, Our most dear Consort, of her Town of Marlborough. A grant by Queen Catharine to the Mayor and Constables of Marlborough, dated 18th March, 3 Hen. VIII., is exhibited in the adjoining museum. But Nuttyng was not to be daunted by writs of certiorari. The next entry in the court books sets forth a *third complaint* by him against the Prior for trespass. On this occasion the damages rise to 16*s.*, and the Town Clerk—abandoning all attempt to describe by its colour this third intrusive animal—

satisfies himself by entering "*per unum equum coloris*" blank. It must have been on this third charge that on the 9th and 23rd November the Prior is again presented as in default. Then on the 7th December order is made for a levy on his goods which seems to have been pursued to the bitter end, for on the 11th January two appraisers report that a seizure has been made of one horse, "*coloris grey*" of the goods and chattels of the said Richard Browne, of the value of 5*s.* 4*d.*, and on the 8th of March a further seizure is reported of a quarter of barley, value 3*s.* 10*d.* When the Prior next appears it is on the 2nd December following, to answer for the peaceable behaviour of one John Waterhouse, in a recognizance of 40*s.*

References to the adjacent Forest are not numerous.

On one occasion William Owen took upon himself to say openly in court that the Mayor had said that "He myght not punish the shomakers insomuch that thei were longing to Maister Seymor for yff we should punish them we shall have nother wood nor other thing ought of the forest."

On another (2nd July, 25 Hen. VIII.), John White confessed that out of twenty cart-loads of roots which he had undertaken to dig in the forest he had dug only ten. It was adjudged that he dig the other ten cart-loads within the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula: and for the rest all the roots contained in Bucley Heyth within the same feast, and William Seyman was surety as well for the completion of the work as for the re-delivery of the tools, "cuncta instrumenta videlicet Beetyll, Ax, Matock, and Showlys."

The foregoing entry shews that the latinity of the Town Clerk did not always keep pace with the exigencies of the occasion. It seems, however, to have failed him chiefly in a description of the miscellaneous weapons of offence with which were committed the numerous assaults recorded in the court books. The scribe is generally careful to state with particularity that blood was drawn, "insultum fecit et sanguinem extraxit," and this is alleged to have been effected in one case "c̄o [he means "cum"] uno collrake"; in others, "c̄o uno Forke" "c̄o uno rude staffe," "c̄o uno bowl," "c̄o uno payre pencers," "c̄u uno lez Woodknyff," "c̄u uno lez Fyrepyke," "c̄u j lez dungpyke," and "c̄u uno cifo voc a godderd."

The handicrafts carried on in the town furnished, of course, frequent matter for the action of the courts. Some interesting illustrations will be found in Mr. Waylen's History. The two following extracts from the records of the Court of Piepowder relate to tanning and leather-dressing, always among the established trades of the place:—

"vj Henr. viij.

"Thomas Osborne sues Richard Wilkinson by reason that when the same Thomas delivered to the aforesaid Richard two half skins of the value of 4 shillings to be dressed in the best manner and tanned. Then the aforesaid Richard designing the same Thomas in this behalf privily to defraud, within a certain time falsely and fraudulenty scorched the said half-skins. Whence he says that he is injured and has damage to the extent of 12 pence."

"vij Henr. viij.

"Also they present that George Cann has tanned sheep skins to the number of one hundred skins against the form of divers statutes. Wherefore he has forfeited a certain penalty as is plainly expressed in the Statute of the first year of our Lord King Henry VII. chapter 5. That is to say for every skin so tanned 20 pence."

Here are other examples. One as to saddlery:—

"8 *Novr.*, 34 *Henry* 8.

"John Cousins sues John Thresher in an action of debt for six shillings for that the said John Cousin sold to the household of our lord the King when the same lord the King was last in this neighbourhood [*in istâ patria*] six dozen cloths for horses at the price of six shillings. Which moneys indeed the servants of the said Lord the King from his stable delivered to the said defendant for payment to the said complainant immediately on the departure of the said Lord the King. Which moneys nevertheless the said defendant has not yet paid."

Thresher did not appear, and a levy on him was ordered, but it seems to have been for three shillings only, which, according to the testimony of Richard King—one of the serjeants-at-mace—plaintiff's wife had admitted to be the extent of the debt.

This as to medicine:—

"9 *May*, 35 *Henr.* viij.

"Suit by Agnes Mundy, widow and executrix of John Mundy, her late husband, against Robert Barber, founded on the following document:

'This Byll made the xiij daye of Janewarye in the xxxiiijth yere of the most most noble reigne of oure Sofferayne lord Kyng Henry the viij that I Robert Barbar of Marlboro bynd myself to John Mondy of the pysh of Chylton Folyatt

to help hym* . . . godwylling at my pper cost dewryng my lyff and hys of sych poure conyng as god hays indued me withall comyng home to me or els consyderyng my payn comyng to me

'Therefore I have subscribed my name

"Robt Barbar.'"

The matter was referred to arbitration, but on the 6th June following Mrs. Munday is recorded as in default for not proceeding with her suit.

Of the suspicion with which strangers were regarded, and of the searching enquiry made into their movements, more than one instance is found. The examination was not always very successful in elucidating anything important, and page after page is filled with monotonous depositions as to the wanderings of the suspected persons from alehouse to alehouse, and from town to town.

"12 *March* 34 *Henr.* viij.

"Eodem die Elizabeth Williams uxor Thomae Williams de Marleburgh sawyer ys sworen and examenyd befor William Symans mayre of the borough of Marleborough and his brethern ther and seith that she cam fyrst to service to Robt Byde on Wyttsonday last past and dwellyd with the said Byde from that tyme unto Seynt Edwards daye next after and whyle she dwelt wth the seid Byde there resortyd thyther dyvers and sundery tymes certen men beyng strangers oone John Darby thelder dwellyng in Cotyold and with hym oone Edward (w^{t} a redd face) and att an other tyme came to the seid Byde's howsse oone Herry a shomaker . . . . . and att an other tyme came thether oone Eyles lyke unto a Keper (with a whight fryse cote) and further she seyth that the seid Edward att a tyme brought thyther a walett and karyed yt upp in to the chamber hym self and pullyd of his bootts and called for oone to sett hym hys Showys in his walett. Then seid Byde hyr master I will go my self. Mary I praye ye doe seid Edward—and so went hymselff an sett the seid Shone. Att which matter the seid Elizabeth marvelyd: and when she spyde hyr tyme she seith she went up and lookyd in the said walett and therein she sawe a bundell of halters and horslock Keys bounde to geyther and further she cannatt sey."

The sentences on trampers and beggars seem to have been lenient enough. In days when flogging was the accepted punishment for a variety of offences the judgment on vagabonds was frequently no heavier than to depart the town. A man who to vagrancy added a theft of 4*s.* was sentenced to have his ear fastened to the pillory, and to quit the town. The pillory which—in excellent preservation—has a place in the adjoining museum, is more than once mentioned

* With the ailments of the late lamented Mundy we need not concern ourselves.

as needing repair, and similar presentments occur as to the cucking-stole. The latter instrument may probably have been in requisition on the 20th November, 28 Hen. VIII., on which day it was presented that Alice Hicks rails (*ascultat*) under her neighbours' walls, and that the same Alice is a common scold, to the serious nuisance of her neighbours. Wherefore, &c.

In a community so compact as was that of Marlborough it is to be expected that the same names should be of frequent recurrence. This was certainly so in the case of one litigant named Peter Peers the younger. We hear of him first as sueing Walter Cullern, of Manton, for a debt of 10*s.*, and it is clear that this claim had its origin in some exercise of the healing art, because after divers presentments of non-payment by Cullern, a declaration of the cause of action discloses, "That the same Peter, so he avers, has cured a certain wound in the left hand of the said Walter." After a cross suit by Cullern, and some other instances of the "law's delays," the dispute is referred to two Arbitrators, who in their award decide that Cullern is to pay to Peers 17*s.*, in full satisfaction of all matters in difference between them, and that the said Peter and his father "are to administer to the aforesaid Walter ointments and other salves necessary for him, for the cure and healing of two fingers and one thumb on his left hand." The arbitrators, somewhat boldly, also awarded that the parties are hereafter to be on good terms.

This was on the 11th of January, 1525, but ere long the adventurous spirit of Peter Peers the younger brought him again before the court. About six months afterwards we find the Mayor examining the two sub-constables for what reason they had put Peter Peers the younger in "Le Cage" against his commands. They confessed that they had done wrong, and were forgiven.

This introduction of Peter to the Cage arose out of a disturbance between him and the watchmen. At the court held on St. Martin's Day, 1526, Peter Peers produces a supersedens under the seal of Thomas Yorke Knight, a county magistrate, requiring his discharge from custody. It is probably in answer to this interposition by the county justice that the Mayor proceeds to state at large the behaviour of Mr. Peers. His narrative is as follows:—

"The compleynt of Richard Wren being Mair of M̄lebnrgh agenst Pet Peers the yonger.

"The thyrd daye of July in the xviith yer of the reigne of Kyng Henri the viijth abought the oure of xi of the clock in the nyght cam oon Peter Peers the yonger amonge the Kyngs Watchmen at Marleburgh and then and ther sauted the seid watchmen with force and armys that is to sey wth a forest byll in his right hand and a dagar by his syde / Then cam oone of the seid Kyngs Watchmen whose name is John Cumlyn and mett with the seid Pet in the Hye Street of M̄lebnrgh beforeseid agenst the door of John Matwe and salnted the seid Pet seyeng Good Evyn / and ferther mor axed this question of hym / seyeng Is it allmost bedtyme wth yon / Than the seid Pet answerid and seid What woldist thou with that / and incontinent smott the seid watchman in somoch that he felyd hym to the grownd and brake his hed that the blood ran about his showlders And after that the seid Watchman dyd ryse from the grownd the seid Peter drewe out his dagar uppon hym seying theise words / And yff thou wer not the Kyng's Watchman I wold make the ette this daggar // And moreov did swere by the crosse of the daggar yff he myght take hym on the morough A wold make hym ette hytt indeede / And so deptyd from that watchman //

"And after this cam another of the Kyng's Watchmen whose name is Thomas Wyse and seid to the same Peter theise woords / Goodman Peers it wer more tyme for you to be in bed then to make any busyness w^{t} the Kyng's Watchmen at this tyme of the nyght To whom he answeryd and seid / What ye Knave do you take his pte And gave hym iij Strypes with his byll

"And in the next nyght imediatly foloyng the same Peter Peers came and sawted the kyngs watchmen abought the houre of xj of the clocke wth. force & armis that is to seye with a bowe in his left hand redy bentt. w^{t} syx arowes at the lest by estimacon under hys gyrdell And an arowe with a forkyd hed in his right hand / Then met w^{t} hym oon Richard Skeller oon of the Kynges watchmen and seid to him // Who coms there / Then seid Peter Peers / Here is a good felowe / Then seid the seid Watchman to him / Goodman Peers for what intent do you bere your Bowe bentt and your arowe so redy in youre other hand at this tyme of the nyght / To whom answeryd the seid Peter and seid / what you Bowye what wyll ye therwith / Have ye to doo to stopp me from my lodging / And ther w^{t}all leepe back and nockyd an arowe ready to have shott at the seid watchman and yff he had nat come shortly within hym intendyd for to have sleyne hym

"Then came another of the Kyngs watchmen whose name is Robert Dixson & seid to the same Peter theise woords Peter I p̄y the be content and make no more busynes / And yff thou wylt nott be content I wyll ley my byll uppon thy face / Then seid the seid Peter Peers to hym / what yo begarly knave I shall make the Towne to hote for you wthn theise fewe dayes

"Then they too watchmen brought hym to Thomas Bacon oon of the constables of the seid Towne of M̄lebnrgh and callyd hym foorth of his bed / And then he cam w^{t} all the resonable hast that he myght / An so the watchmen shewyd this matter to the constable / Then the constable comandyd oon of the Watchmen to go for a Sargant / And in the meanetyme the seid pet rayled uppon the constable and callyd him John Moone & John Foole and seid Whether shall I goe to the Blynde Howse / Then seid ths Constable to hym Peter I py you be content ye

shall go thether as ye have desrvyd / And incontinent the Constable & the Watchmen brought hym to the p'sonhowse doore And then cam the Sargan & seid he cowde not com by the keye for his felowe had hitt in his purse / Then the seid Peter desired of the Constable that the doore myght be left open uppon hym And to have libertie to go in and ought at his pleasure / And the Constable of his gentylnes graunted hym uppon the condicion that he should nott go awey but ther to abyde as trew psoner And upon that the seid Peter plight his feyth & troth in the Constables hand that he wolde not go awey nor make no fraye nor quarell wth the Watchmen / And whan the constable was gone and the Watchmen abought the kyng's watch the seid peter toke his pleasure and went his wey from the p'son and brake the Constables arest.

"And uppon the morough when the Maire and his brethren wer in the Geeld Hall to kepe the Kyng's Court of Pypowdres the seid peter cam before the Maire and his brethren wth a dagar by his syde / Then the Maire examined hym what rewele he had kept the ij nyghtts past And why he dyd were his dagar contry to his comanndmet / And he made answer and seid he kept none but good rewle and wolde were his dagar whomsoev sed naye to hit / Then the Maire comandyd hym to warde unto such time he myght have the watchmen and hym face to face Then the Sargant affter the mayre was goone home at the desyre of the seid Peter put hym in a place of pnishment contry to the Mayres comanndment called the Cage which is ordenyd for vacabonds & purscutters And when the Mayre hard of that he was not contentyd but as fast as he myght he cam to the constables howses and comannded them to bryng hym ought of that place unto the place that was meete for hym & the mayre went with them And when thei came theder the mayre comandyd the seid Peter to delyv' hym his dagar to the which he answerid and seid Ther showlde no man have his dag' Then the Maire comandyd hym to com forth And he seid he wold be drawne ought with wilde horses fyrst. Then the Mayr comanndyd the Constables to set him ought / And oone of them whose name is Thomas Bacon went in to the p'son callyd the Cage to have set hym ought. And then he drewe his dagar and smott at the seid constable in somych that yff he had not pulled the doore betweene them he had surely sleyne hym And all this is approvyd by good wittnes."

NOTE.—The illustration facing page 76 gives specimens of entries made at the Court of Piepowder, 26th October, 16 Henry VIII.

Coins found near Marlborough.

By the Rev. C. Soames.

PERHAPS few people are aware of the unusual number and variety of coins which have been and are constantly being discovered within a very short distance of the town of Marlborough. I have never kept any account of those which have passed through my hands, but I am sure I am within the mark when I say that for the last twenty years much more than one hundred have annually been brought to me of Roman copper alone. The great majority of the coins found in the neighbourhood are those of the Roman Empire. As the Romans were the first foreigners or colonists who have left any distinct traces of their occupation of this country—an occupation which, dating from Julius Cæsar's first invasion of the island, extended over a period of more than four hundred years—it is not surprising that the plough is constantly turning up memorials of them in the immediate neighbourhood of their chief settlements.

The present parish of Mildenhall contains within it the site of a very considerable Roman town, situated at the intersection of two of their great highways running respectively east and west, and north and south. Cunetium must have comprised both a Roman camp and a Roman town, the former no doubt placed on the top of the hill to the left of the London Road, where Folly Farm now stands, as evidenced by a Roman pavement still to be distinguished in a ploughed field a little way from the high road opposite Savernake Cottage Hospital; the latter in the valley the other side of the Roman road from Winchester to Cirencester, in a field called *Black Field,* south of the river Kennett, in the occupation of Mr. S. Butler.

There may be seen at all times of the year fragments of Roman bricks and tiles and pottery, and if attentive search be made, coins of various sizes and descriptions may be picked up, showing that it

was once the seat of a large and thriving population. Now and again, while ploughing the land, a horse will suddenly sink into a regular pit-fall and perhaps require to be dug out before the plough can start again. Some of those pits or wells have been opened and found to contain all manner of the débris of a Roman town or village. Pottery of various kinds, oyster shells, bones of animals used for food, cooking utensils, fragments of iron, bronze and glass, abound in them; quantities of burnt wood occur, shewing that in all probability either the retreating Romans or the pursuing Britons set fire to the town and station, which the former were obliged to abandon.

In the Museum in the Upper School at Marlborough College are some specimens of the pottery and other articles found in one of the wells, but I am bound to say that (though in many instances very similar) they cannot compare with the interesting relics just placed in the Museum of this Society at Devizes, which have been recovered from a somewhat similar Roman well at the Westbury Iron Works. In a dry season it is quite possible to distinguish even the lines of the main streets and thoroughfares of the town by the difference in the growth of the corn, but I fear it would be hopeless to look for them this very wet summer.

Some persons have been so surprised at the number of coins found continually on this spot that they have hazarded the extraordinary suggestion that the Romans were in the habit of scattering them over the ground as an evidence of their having conquered the country. But I do not think it necessary to adopt any such theory to account for the presence of large quantities of money on such a site. If we consider for a moment what would be the consequences of an army suddenly retreating from a long occupied camp, or what would be found on the spot where a battle had been fought, a village burnt, or a town stormed, we shall not be astonished at finding a very large quantity of coins on the scene of such an event. There were no cheques or bank-notes in those days, money was kept in the shape of coin. The coinage of that period was chiefly copper, and had been so from the time of Constantine or earlier. A vast number of small coins must have been necessary to carry on the

business and traffic of such a colony. Moreover they were of little value to the Briton, who in all probability was too glad to regain possession of the soil of his native country to care much for small copper money of the Romans, whom he detested, and whose deserted town he evidently did not inhabit. Unfortunately history tells us little or nothing of the manner of the departure of the Romans. But there can be no doubt that fire and the sword followed close on their retreating footsteps. It is not easy to realise the gradual transformation of a burnt and abandoned town into a ploughed field famed for its fertility—yet how many instances must there have been of such changes in this country. Even in this neighbourhood there are several other examples. In a large wood at Great Bedwyn, the Brails, may be seen a Roman pavement, another in the middle of a field at Folly, and in front of Lord Ailesbury's house at Savernake, one was shewn us this morning.

The dates of the Roman coins range from about the time of Augustus to that of Honorius and Arcadius (four hundred years). One or two still earlier consular coins have been brought to me, but, as might be expected, they are but very rarely found. Those in greatest quantities are from the time of Gallienus to that of the sons of Constantine. Those of the usurpers Carausius and Allectus, which are usually somewhat rare, are not at all uncommon. Very lately a fine gold coin of Valens was turned up in excellent preservation. But it is an unusual occurrence now to find anything but copper, and those of the smaller sizes. An extra deep ploughing is, however, sure to be succeeded by an increased find of coins, and it is astonishing how quickly the eyes of the ploughboys discover the most minute coins or fragments of them as they guide their teams along the furrow.

Occasionally a British coin gladdens the eye of the collector, easily distinguished from its Roman companions by its peculiar concave or dished appearance. A year or two ago two or three were brought to me, found near the same spot; only one, however, was of an inscribed type; it is a copper coin of Cunobeline, a British prince, son of Tasciovanus, of about the time of Julius Cæsar, struck at Colchester, as the letters CAM—for Camelodunum—attested; another was an

uninscribed copper coin, with a bird on one side and on the other an unknown figure or ornament; it is the only known specimen of its kind, and has not yet been figured in print. There were three silver uninscribed coins found about the same time, one of which may be seen in the Museum. Not far, however, from Cunetium, at the top of the Salisbury Hill, some twenty-three years ago, there occurred a famous find of British coins, of which I believe no record has ever yet been made by the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

Some men digging clay for a brick-field, then worked on the Sarum Road, came upon a pot which contained a considerable number of coins, almost all British; it is said one Roman coin of Tiberius was amongst them, which has been taken as giving a clue to their date. Two of them came into my possession, but it was years before I knew what they were. Most of them fell into the hands of the boys of Marlborough College, and unfortunately there was no Museum, as there is now, at the College, to which boys would consider it a point of honour to bring any new-found coin, and no indefatigable Mr. Preston ready to secure every rare treasure that is turned up; so they were most of them dispersed, falling into the hands of people who knew nothing of their value. In fact it was not till the following year that Mr. John Evans, the accomplished antiquarian and President of the Numismatical Society, discovered on a gold coin, found at Farley Heath, in Surrey, the name of the British prince which was inscribed on several of the Savernake Forest coins. The type was known in print in Stukeley's time, but Mr. Evans was the first to read it correctly as Epaticcus—the name only occurs on his coins, and from them it has been discovered that he was a son of Tasciovanus, a king who ruled over a considerable portion of South England, a brother of Cunobeline, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare. He appears to have lived about 15 B.C., and to have had his head quarters at Verulanium. The coins of Epaticcus are very small silver, and have only been found in West Surrey and East Wilts. Two of those found at Savernake Forest are now in the British Museum, and two in Mr. Evans' collection: they have the head and name of Epaticcus on one side, and on the other an eagle with outspread wings holding a snake in its talons. With

them were some uninscribed British coins of very much alloyed gold, brown in colour, of the type which originally had a coin of Philip of Macedonia for its pattern, but which was so often and so ignorantly copied and re-copied by the British artist, that it is extremely difficult —indeed, without some of the intermediate specimens to help one, impossible—to recognise the resemblance between the British production and its original Greek type. The process, however, by which the beautiful Greek coin of Philip became the extraordinary jumble of dots and wheels which was struck in this island, is most distinctly made out in Mr. Evans' admirable work on British coins. In it you will find all that is at present known about Tasciovanus, Epaticcus, and the other British princes whose names are only known from their coins. It is possible the plough or the spade may again turn up coins of hitherto unknown types, which may give us more names of princes of this country, with whom we are at present unacquainted; but, though the art of writing was evidently known at that time to the inhabitants of these islands, it is, I fear, hopeless to expect such wonderful discoveries as have rewarded the spade of Layard, and the learning and patience of the lamented George Smith, who have brought to light and read and translated the contemporary history of the Assyrian Kings on the clay cylinders and tablets, which we see in the British Museum.

No doubt Tasciovanus, Cunobeline, and Epaticcus were highly civilized princes compared with their ancestors, whose dwellings we inspected to-day, and whose tombs we hope to see to-morrow. But their history, if ever it was written, remains to be discovered. At any rate, let us hope that the Wilts Archæological Society will succeed in obtaining for its collection in the Museum any future memorials of them that may be discovered in this county, and that it will take the utmost care to bring together every coin and object of antiquity, which may illustrate the history of past times, which would otherwise be unknown to the antiquary and historian.

The Echinus or Sea Urchin.

By the Rev. T. A. Preston.

PERHAPS the commonest of the few fossils, found in this neighbourhood, is that of the Echinus, or Sea Urchin, and and as there are fortunately several living representatives of these creatures, it seems to be a fit subject to bring before the notice of the Members of this Society.

An echinus, as picked up in a fossil state, is a solid, more or less of a melon shape, with one part flat, and with five double rows of dots radiating from a point at the apex of the rounded part. There will also be two rather large holes, either on the flat surface, or else opposite to one another, one in the flat surface and the other at the apex: and this will generally be all that can be observed about the fossil echinus, which will be either a flint cast of the interior, or if taken direct from the chalk, it will be seen to be a hollow "box," filled with chalk, and besides the lines of dots there will also be observed a number of projecting points or "bosses," scattered over the surface, the size of these bosses varying extremely with each species. I shall proceed at once, therefore to describe a living specimen, and one of the species most commonly occurring, for I must premise that my remarks will have to be modified according to the species selected for examination.

I may take this portion, then, found in a fossil state, as the basis of the structure. It consists of a hollow "box" or envelope, called a *corona*, at first sight very similar to the hard covering of the crab or lobster. But though it is composed of the same material, it is essentially different in structure. In the case of the lobster, if it is broken, the cracks go in all directions without any definite lines, but in the case of the echinus the cracks will be seen to follow (as a rule) very definite lines; straight, if horizontal, and straight or zigzag, if the crack runs from pole to pole: in fact the corona of the echinus is made up of a large number of little plates, varying in number

according to the age of the animal, and arranged in very exact and beautiful order. All the plates are of a similar shape, and there are twenty vertical rows of them, stretching from the upper to the lower aperture, arranged in pairs. In one pair each plate will be observed to be pierced with six holes, and consequently these two rows will form that part of the corona containing one of the radiating lines of dots, alluded to before. The plates in the next pair will be observed to be covered with a very regular arrangement of elevated points or bosses—those bosses not scattered indefinitely over the surface, but in a uniform order; consequently, when the eye sees the mass of bosses before it, though from their number they appear to be without any regular order, a little inspection will show that not only in this, but in every point observable about the echinus, there is a a very beautiful symmetry and regularity. The corona of the echinus is therefore made up of ten *tracts* or spaces, five containing holes and five elevated bosses, the former are called the *ambulacral* tracts, the latter the *inter-ambulacral.*

Of the two *holes,* the upper one, at the *apical pole* (and therefore called the *apical aperture*), is in the living animal almost entirely occupied with ten plates of a different shape from those forming the corona, five of these, surrounding the small aperture at the top, are called *genital plates,* and have a single hole each, attached to which, at the proper season of the year, is a large bag of orange-coloured eggs, esteemed a great delicacy in some countries, especially those surrounding the Mediterranean, and for which alone large quantities of these Echini are caught and brought to market. The other five plates are called *ocular plates,* and have also a single spot in each, considered to be an eye, this being the *only* organ of sense hitherto detected in these very low and yet very complex organisms. These ten plates are so arranged that an ocular plate is situated at the top of one of the ambulacral areas, and a genital at the top of one of the inter-ambulacral. One of the genital plates is differently formed from the other four, presenting a more spongy appearance: this will be alluded to further on—it is called the *madriporiform tubercle.*

The other hole, called the *oral* aperture, is very nearly covered with a tough membrane, in which are numerous small calcareous

plates, the central aperture being occupied with the extremities of five teeth, which project slightly beyond the general surface of the animal, and around the mouth—attached to the membrane (called the *buccal membrane*)—are five small branched gills.

To each of the bosses scattered over the inter-ambulacral area is attached a spine, very variable in shape and size, not only in different species, but also in the same animal. Sometimes the spines are very thin and slender, presenting more the appearance of hairs, at others they are large and stout, as much as three inches long. These spines have a very beautiful structure, and sections of them make very interesting microscopic objects. They serve partly for progression and partly for enabling the echinus to bury itself in the sand, and consequently are very moveable. They are attached to each boss by a circle of muscular fibre, and (in the case of the larger ones at least) also by a ligament passing from the centre of the base of the spine, which is hollowed like a saucer for this purpose, to the top of the boss, similar to the *ligamentum teres* of the hip-joint. Naturally after death, this ligament, as well as the ring of muscular matter, decays, and the spine falls off. For this reason the spines are very seldom found near the echinus in a fossil state, and can only be kept in their proper position in recent specimens by very careful preparation and preservation.

Coating the whole of this solid part of the echinus, corona and spines, is the fleshy part of the animal, consisting of an apparently structureless mass of gelatine, thus showing a most important difference between this and other animals possessing a similar calcareous covering, as lobsters, &c., for in the case of the lobster, the hard parts are *outside*, and when the animal has out-grown its case it has the power of creeping out of it and forming another larger one in its place. In the echinus, however, this is impracticable: the hard part is *inside*, and hence the necessity for the corona to be made up of separate plates, for each one increases by additions to its edges, and thus the general cavity of the corona is increased to the required amount, in the same manner as the skull is increased in size as the brain grows.

Now the echinus is not only capable of moving at the bottom of the ocean, but is also able to climb up the rocks, and even to walk

mouth upwards (the ordinary position for the mouth being *downwards*), and this is accomplished by five rows of suckers, each sucker being under the complete control of the animal, for it can make use of one only, or of the whole five sets at once if necessary. Each sucker is situated at the extremity of a highly elastic tube, which separates into two branches at the base, each branch passing through one of the pores or holes of the ambulacral plates and uniting again with its fellow on the inside. There will thus be twice as many pores as suckers; the method of working these suckers will be explained further on.

The only other point observable on the exterior of the echinus is a series of minute structures called *pedicellariæ*. Each consists of a stem with three teeth at the extremity, these teeth continually separating and shutting together with a kind of snap. Their use is quite unknown, in fact by some observers they are considered to be parasites, but the question is still unsolved. Should they prove to be really parts of the echinus, their use will probably be that of clearing the suckers of extraneous particles of dirt, which may have become attached to them.

Such then is a rough sketch of the external appearance of this creature—simple, and yet marvellously complex in certain points, but this is astonishingly increased when we examine the interior.

On opening the corona, there will (at the proper season of the year) be observed the five bags of eggs, each about the size of a walnut, a very small amount of internal arrangement of stomach, &c., and perhaps the most extraordinarily complicated arrangement of teeth conceivable, and which seems to be utterly disproportioned to the otherwise "low" structure of the animal. From pole to pole extends an intestinal tube, passing twice round the inside of the corona, to which it is attached by threads, corresponding to the mesentery of higher animals. This tube is nowhere expanded into a cavity corresponding to a stomach. There is no liver, no true heart, or blood vessels. The nervous system consists of a ring round the gullet, with five small "ganglia" or knots, from which proceed branches to the eye spots, these branches again giving off a few secondary branches.

The *ambulacral* system (that by which the animal is enabled to move along), may be thus described. From the *madriporiform*

tubercle (alluded to above) proceeds a tube down towards the oral aperture. The tubercle is spongy and acts as a cullender, so that the water, when passing through it, gets filtered, and all impurities are prevented from entering the animal. The tube, on reaching the oral pole, expands into a ring round the gullet, and from each point of this ring opposite one of the ambulacral tracts springs a branch passing along the middle of each tract. In addition to these five branches are five other appendages, shaped like bladders, serving as reservoirs for the supply of water. Thus there are the ring round the mouth, the five bladder-like appendages, and the five branches running up inside the corona. These five branches do not reach the apical pole, but terminate shortly before reaching the apical aperture. On their way they send out pairs of branches, one branch ending in a bladder-like cavity, whilst the other branch divides into two, and after passing through two of the pores, unites again and forms one of the tubes of the suckers. These tubes, as mentioned before, are elastic, consequently when the animal wishes to use one it forces some of the water, which has entered by the madriporiform tubercle, into that tube, till it is as long as necessary, and when it wishes to rest it, it merely allows the water to flow back again, when the tube contracts by its own elasticity. It may be mentioned that however long the spines are, the tubes can always be made longer, even if the spines are 3 or 4 inches long.

There remains, finally, the *dental* apparatus, perhaps the most marvellous arrangement, considering the otherwise low organisation of the animal, to be found in the animal kingdom.

I must first allude to the growth of the incisors, or front teeth, of such animals as the rat, rabbit, &c. These teeth, being continually used for gnawing, are—contrary to what occurs in other allied animals—always growing. The tooth passes along the lower jaw and terminates in a capsule which is continually supplying fresh additions to the tooth, and thus the tooth is continually being pushed forwards, consequently it is a *necessity* that the animal have some means of wearing away its tooth at the other extremity; and if from any cause the animal is deprived of making a proper use of its tooth, that tooth will grow on, and, being naturally curved, will grow round

in a circle and ultimately prevent the animal from using its mouth. Instances where this has happened are not unfrequently met with.

Now each of the five teeth of the echinus grows in a precisely similar way. It is true that from the outside merely the points are seen, but these teeth are of considerable length, and though their structure is not so complicated as those in the rodents (rats, &c.), yet it is continually growing, new matter being continually added by a "sac" at the other extremity. It will be impossible to convey any idea of the dental apparatus without a figure.

Each tooth lies in an *alveolus*; this alveolus may be best described as a hollow triangular pyramid, placed point downwards, and of such a size that the five alveoli, when placed side by side, just form a complete cone. The edges of the alveoli which would meet inside are sliced off, thus leaving a space for the passage of the gullet. Between each alveolus at the upper (broader) end is a small piece called a *rotula*, which serves to join two adjacent alveoli, and again from each rotula springs a small pointed piece called a *radius*, which meeting the other radii in the centre, serves to keep the alveoli still more in position. The whole affair looks something like a lantern, and, from the name of its discoverer, Aristotle, has been called the *Lantern of Aristotle*. Round the interior of the oral aperture, and fastened to the corona, are five arches called *auriculæ*, and to these auriculæ the Lantern of Aristotle is attached by a very complicated set of muscles, which also serve to move the alveoli, &c., so as to enable the teeth to work against one another.

From such a wonderfully complicated apparatus, we should naturally suspect that the animal made very good use of its teeth, and it would therefore be no very difficult matter to find out what it really did eat. Hitherto this has not been the case. The "stomach" has only been noticed to be filled with sand and broken pieces of shell and coral, and hence it is suspected that it lives upon mollusca and crustacea.

As regards the *development* of the echinus, from the extraordinary forms presented by the young of other lowly-organised animals, we might expect great differences in appearance and structure as the animal grows from its very young to adult state, and this is the

case. It really has two distinct larval forms, one of which—until its true nature was known—was called a *Pluteus*, being naturally considered to be a distinct species. In its earliest stages the young echinus consists of an oval body coated with moveable hairs, which enables the animal to swim about freely in the water. In process of time the alimentary canal, with its mouth, stomach, &c., is formed from side to side of the young echinus, the hairs gradually dropping off till only a band round the animal remains. These hairs then gradually grow out into long processes, and a curiously complex skeleton is formed. This is considered to be the *first* larva, and was formerly called a pluteus, as mentioned above. The second process is very extraordinary. At one side of the stomach of the pluteus springs a bud, which gradually grows into an echinus with spines, &c., all but a stomach, and this it supplies by taking that of the pluteus, discarding all the rest, which consequently dies.

It remains to say a few words with respect to the animals to which it is allied, for it forms a link in a very interesting series of animals, grouped under the term *Echinodermata*. Echini are not always melon-shaped. Some species are very flat, as if they had been compressed by a weight placed on them, nor are they always circular, portions of the inter-ambulacral areas are occasionally wanting. If, then, we replace the calcareous corona by a tough skin, in which calcareous particles are imbedded, and remove the greater portion of the inter-ambulacral areas, we very nearly get a star-fish. If, again, we replace the corona of the echinus by a skin with a few calcareous particles imbedded in it, lengthen out the distance between the two poles, and enlarge the gills round the mouth, we get an approximate *Holothurea* or sea-cucumber. If we take a star-fish, replacing the calcareous plates and making the arms really distinct from the body, we get Sand-stars. And, finally, if we place a Sand-star on the top of a stalk, we practically get a *Stone-lily*. The different forms are, of course, accompanied by other internal changes, by which evolutionists satisfy themselves that they can trace the evolution of one species from another. The dental apparatus, called Aristotle's Lantern, is found complete in the Echinus, only in a rudimentary form in the Sea-cucumber and is wanting in all the others.

On Some Uses of Flint Implements.

By S. B. Dixon, Esq., F.G.S.

EVERYONE who has a collection of stone implements has, more or less frequently, been met with the question, "What can be the use of such things as these?" He has first had the difficulty of assuring his visitors that the flints really bear traces of human fabrication, and then has come the equally difficult task of explaining their use. The only mode of giving a satisfactory reply to this question is by a comparison of these stone implements with some now in use at the present day. Stone implements have been divided into two well-marked periods, the Archæolithic and the Neolithic.

The former comprises the implements formed by the simple process of flaking and chipping, and which have been found in such abundance in the Valley of the Somme (especially at Abbeville and Amiens); in this county, near Salisbury; and in many other parts of England.

To this period too belong the numerous implements (both of stone and bone) found in the French caves (especially those of Dordogne) and at Gibraltar. The implements of this period are to a great extent of one type, and it is difficult to frame a comparison with them and any in use at the present day.

The implements found in this neighbourhood—though of many varieties of form and size—are all assigned to the Neolithic period, and it is to the implements of that period that attention will be directed.

We are accustomed to hear of a Stone Age, a Bronze Age, and an Iron Age, referring to the material of which the implements in use during each period were composed, and in many countries it is possible to trace the occurrence of each of these periods. Each, however, overlapped the preceding one, and implements of two

periods were frequently in use at one and the same time. The same may be said of countries. England has passed through its Stone Age, its Bronze, and its Iron Age, while there are countries which have not yet emerged from their Stone Age, and where the use of metal is entirely unknown. It is from these countries that information is obtained on this subject, for in them are found implements in daily use in no way differing from those found on the Wiltshire downs.

The implements now referred to are :—

1 Celts.
2 Hammers.
3 Hammer-Stones.
4 Scrapers.
5 Finger-Flakes.
6 Flint Flakes and Cores.

There are several other stone implements, but the above are sufficient for the limits of this paper.

Celts.—The most important of the stone implements are what are now generally known as celts (a word derived from the Latin *celtis* =a chisel). Of these some are simply chipped; others, after having been chipped, have been polished at the edges; and others have been most carefully shaped and polished throughout. They are found in many places in England especially, as in this neighbourhood, where flint abounds, and they vary in length from a little more than an inch to 9 or 10 inches. They are generally found on the surface, unless (as in barrows) where they have been buried with the body of their original owner. No doubt many that are found simply chipped were afterwards intended to be ground and polished, though this has never been accomplished. The process of making them appears to have been to have first chipped the raw material into the shape and size it was intended to take, and then, if necessary, to have rubbed down with water in a groove in a hard piece of sandstone. Pieces of sandstone adapted for this process have been occasionally found, one remarkable instance having been discovered many years ago by the late Mr. William Cunnington in a barrow

at Upton Lovel. They are, however, more frequently found abroad —in Denmark and Scandinavia, and other countries. Sometimes there are three or four grooves in the same piece of sandstone, adapted to the different sizes of the implements proposed to be made.

The unpolished implements were probably the primitive forms, the grinding and polishing being a later development. The sharpening of the edge, too, being first adopted for convenience, and the complete polishing of the whole being but a matter of degree. These celts were devoted to many uses, both as warlike weapons and for domestic uses. Some were made for hand tools. Others were used, as the rough Australian tools have been, up to within a quite recent period, hafted with gum in a piece of skin and thus used in the hand, and many, especially of those that were ground at the edges, were mounted in wooden shafts like axes or hatchets and adzes. To prevent the wood from splitting, consequent upon the insertion of the wedge-like celt, it was not uncommon to have a socket of stag's horn, into which the stone was firmly imbedded, and the horn then inserted in the wood. Many of these stag's horn sockets have been discovered in the excavation of the lake-dwellings of Switzerland. Another mode of hafting these implements was very probably one similar to that in common use among blacksmiths for their chisels. This is by twisting a withy round the instrument and securing the handle by rings. A celt has been found by Mr. Brown, on the Manor Farm, Pewsey, with a hollowing out on each side just below the head, evidently adapted for such a mode of mounting. Some of the North American tribes are known to have mounted their hatchets in much the same manner.

Hammer Stones. It is not uncommon to find pebbles or nearly circular stones, that have had but little if any working or rubbing, so battered on every face as to show evidence of considerable use. These have doubtless been originally used as hammers or pounders. Some may, perhaps, have been used for fashioning other implements, though their principal use must have been for pounding grain, roots, and other substances of food, in the same manner as round pebbles are still used by the native Australians, and by the native inhabitants in Cyprus. The original mode appears to have been to pound the

corn against some hard substance, and this subsequently developed into grinding it with mullers and querns, not dissimilar to the work of a pestle and mortar.

Hammers. After these rough hammers came the more finished perforated hammers in which a circular hole has been drilled by some means through the centre. The external surface of these has been more carefully fashioned and ground into shape, and they were probably mounted afterwards in some way in a handle. What these handles were or what was the mode of fastening them is still uncertain, as the holes made through them appear almost too small to contain a shaft of sufficient strength to wield the hammer. It has been suggested that they were only intended to be used in the hand, and these cavities were made to assist in keeping a firm hold of the stone. Another suggestion is that they were offensive weapons, attached by a thong of leather to a handle and used as "flail stones." There is a weapon in use among the Esquimaux, consisting of a stone ball with a drilled hole through which a strip of raw hide is passed to serve as a handle. Many of these hammers are hard to distinguish from the sinkers for nets or lines, probably of no great antiquity, which have been frequently found in various parts of England and the continent, in Ireland, and parts of North America. They continue in use to the present day.

Scrapers. One of the most usual forms of worked flints is the "scraper," so called from its similarity to a stone implement now in use among the Esquimaux, and among some American tribes, for scraping skins, and other like purposes. They are still in use in countries where metal is also used.

These are most abundant in all districts, and a locality near Avebury, called Windmill Hill, appears to have once been a manufactory for them. They are found lying about the fields by hundreds. Their outline is in some cases horse-shoe shaped; in others circular; in others like an oyster shell. In the former they have been only chipped at the lower edge, and have probably been inserted in a handle of bone, ivory, or wood. Thus mounted they are now in use with the Esquimaux. When it is considered how important a part the skins of animals play in the daily life of most savage tribes

(especially of those exposed to a cold climate), and the amount of dressing and scraping the hides require before they can be made available for the purposes of clothing or tent-making, it is evident that some instrument must have been in use by the early residents here for the purpose of dressing the skins. The scrapers that are now found, appear to have been for the most part worn away in such a manner as would have arisen from the scraping of greasy leather. The edges are still sharp, and the chipping shows little trace of contact with a hard substance. Some, however, are much knocked about, and appear to have been subjected to rougher work, probably having been used in fashioning the more finished celts, perforated axes, and other implements then in use. Occasionally these scrapers are found so small that it is difficult to imagine that they could have been placed to either of the uses already mentioned. Their edges are more worn and bruised than would have arisen from scraping in the ordinary sense of the word. It has been suggested that these have been used for striking against balls of iron-pyrites, which are common in all chalk districts, and would be as effectual as iron for producing fire. This supposition may very probably be a correct one, as fire was as necessary for the purposes of cooking with the early savage tribes as it is now, and they may have discovered a more expeditious mode of obtaining it than the slow process of the friction of two pieces of wood. Pyrites have been found with other relics in the barrows opened in this county, as well as elsewhere, and with it there is usually found a flint flake of some kind. From the association of the two it is reasonable to assume that they have been placed together for a common use, and that the most important and necessary of all—for producing fire.

Finger-Flakes. A question naturally arises, "How were these scrapers made?" It has been already stated that near Windmill Hill the scrapers have been found in such abundance as to lead to the conclusion that there was probably a manufactory in that neighbourhood. With the scrapers there have been found a number of narrow worked flints from 2 to 3 inches in length, each with a well-worn pointed edge. It was difficult at first to assign any use for these, but they are now supposed to have been the tools with

which the scrapers have been chipped into shape, evidently being well adapted for this purpose, and the name of finger-flakes has been assigned to them.

Flakes. In addition to the well-worked scraper, there are found, too, in great abundance, flakes or splinters of flint, that have been struck off larger blocks. It will be readily seen that in the fabrication of a celt there would be many of these flakes—made with no intention of devoting them to any further use—many, too, were made designedly and intended to be afterwards used as knives or cutting instruments. The cores from which these flakes have been struck are often found, and it is easy to see how readily the flakes could be taken off if the working of the flint was carefully observed. Where they have been struck off by a single blow there is always a bulb or projection of a more or less conical form at the end where the blow was struck, and a corresponding hollow in the core. This projection is called "the bulb of percussion," and can be seen on every flake. These flakes after having been struck off were let into a socket in a piece of wood, and after being tied tightly round with some ligature were covered with a coating of resinous gum. They are now used in Australia for shaving down the clubs, spear and javelin handles, and other similar purposes.

Thrashing Machines. The abundance of the scrapers and chipped flints in certain districts has suggested the possibility of their having once formed part of the thrashing machines, called tribula, which were used in this country down to the Roman occupation, and are in use in many—even civilised—parts of the world at the present day. In Cyprus and the northern coast of Africa they are now in general use.

There are three or four specimens in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury from different parts of Northern Africa, one especially from Innis (which was purchased by the late Mr. E. T. Stevens at the Paris Exhibition of 1867) is set with teeth very similar in appearance to the chipped flints of this neighbourhood. These machines are flat sledges of wood from 5 to 6 feet in length and 2 to 3 feet in breadth, the under side having a number of holes, into each of which a flake or chip of stone has been inserted. Each

machine was provided with some hundreds of chipped stones, and many must have worked out and been left in the soil where the implements have been long in use. They appear to have been dragged backwards and forwards over the corn, the object being quite as much to crush the straw and render it more adapted for feeding purposes as to get out the grain. The inhabitants of Cyprus even now cannot be induced to use any other than this machine for thrashing their corn, believing it to be more advantageous for all purposes.

Among the natives of Australia stone implements were, until recently, in constant use as weapons of offence. These implements are from 3 to 4 inches in length, and rather bowed in shape. They were used for hand-to-hand fighting, the object being for each combatant to close with his adversary and then to deeply score his back with these weapons. They have now gone out of use, but the shape has continued in a rude metal implement used in the same manner.

Much more might be said on this most interesting subject, and many forms have been left unnoticed; reference has alone been made to the more usual forms of stone implements (and such as can be commonly found on the Wiltshire downs). The chief object of this paper has been to show that the implements of this district are analogous to those now in use, and it may reasonably be inferred that the makers and users of them here were no further advanced in civilisation than are the aborigines of New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific. Still as this country has advanced to its present high standard of civilisation from so low a starting point, a similar progress and development may be in store for them.

The Royalist Rising in 1655.

[From the Original Thurloe State Papers in the Bodleian.]

By Sir G. F. Duckett, Bart., F.S.A.

THE Rising in the West, known also as the "Penruddock Rebellion," for which Colonel John Penruddock, of Compton Chamberlayne, and Hugh Grove, of Chisenbury, near Enford, were executed at Exeter, 16th May, 1655, has been ably and exhaustively treated in vols. xiii., xiv., and xv., of this *Magazine*, by W. W. Ravenhill, Esq.; still, as he himself confesses in a foot-note to the first page of his paper (the "Records of the Rising"), that he "can scarcely hope to have compassed all existing materials in so large a field," coupling the observation with the wish, that further particulars may be forthcoming from readers of the same, the following "Informations," among the Thurloe State Papers, respecting persons concerned in the Rising, may be consequently thought an acceptable addition to the narrative of that event. This we assume from the fact that none of these appear to have been noticed by the above writer, save the examination of Robert Rowe, of Horningsham, an omission caused probably by their having been taken subsequent to the main feature of his account—the execution at Exeter.

As is well known, the chief scene of the Rising in the West was at Salisbury, where the insurgents, under Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, after liberating the prisoners in the gaol, and committing other excesses, seized the judges then holding the assizes in the town, together with the sheriff, Col. John Dove, of New Sarum. Other risings took place simultaneously elsewhere, viz., in Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, and the North, to which Lord Wilmot (Earl of Rochester), and others, directly or indirectly conduced, but all proved equally abortive.

In the subjoined extracts, the orthography of the original entries has been strictly followed.

Informations respecting Persons Concerned in the Royalist Rising in Wilts, July, 1655.

"The examination of Mr. Anthony Batchelor of Great Amesbury in the county of Wilts, Inholder.

"Saith,

"That being at Salsbury at the Assizes, when the rebellion was there, he saw in the partie of the risers Mr. Thomas Rutter of West Cholderton, in the aforesaid countie, and heard him call'd at that time by some of the sade Rebells, Quartermaister Generall, he haveing then about him Swords and Pistolls, which said Rutter, as hath beene credibly informed by one of his neighbours, namely Robert Collier, was about three weekes since seene to be at his home in Cholderton aforesade; unto the trueth hereof I sett my hands this ninth of July, 1655.

"(Signed), Anthonie Batchelor.

"Since this information, the sade Rutter hath beene searched for, but cannot be found."

"Thomas and Edward Carter of Enford, in the county of Wilts, informe, that on Sunday, the day before the Rebellion at Sarum, there mett at Mr. Clarkes of the sade Enford, who was engaged in the sade rebellion, one Mr. Henry Mills of Nether Haven [Netheravon], and Mr. Scardivill of Ffeilding, in the sade county, both which persons stayed at the sade Mr. Clarkes till it was late in the eveninge that day, but there business their, these Informers knoweth not. This Information was taken July the 12th 1655

p. mee:

Tho. Savage.

"The sade persons, namely Mr. Mills and Mr. Scardivill, were taken up by the Sheriffe of Wilts as suspected, uppon the Insurrection, and have given in bond to him to appeare before his Highness or Councell when called.

"Mr. Roughton the Elder, of Wilcott, in the countie of Wilts, confesseth, that twice or thrice, he was in company with Maior Clarke, Mr. Bowles, and others of the late risers, this last winter at hunting, near Everlie [Everleigh], and dined with them at the sade Everlie, after their sport ended. He saith further he had a sonne, engaged in the rebellion, as alsoe that he sould the Lord Sandes * at Lurgithall [Ludgershall], the day the riseing was at Sarum, four horses of a good price, and went thither the same day, on purpose to hunt with the said Lord Sandes. He denieth that he mett on purpose with the sade Clarke, Bowles, &c to hunt, but accedentally, as he was ayreing his horse uppon the Downes.

"This acknowledgement was made by the above mentioned Mr Roughton unto me, upon the fourteenth of July 1655, and upon enquire after him, I finde him to be a reputed Cavileere, and to have beene formerly questioned by Maior Boteler.

"(Signed), Lnl: Holton." †

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* William, sixth Baron Sandys of the Vine.

† One of the Commissioners for the County of Wilts. See his letters to Cromwell, p. 375, 376, vol. xviii.

[*Endorsed*]
"Information touching
severall of the
late Rebells, & other
disaffected persons in
Willshire.
N. 66."

"John Stronge of Dunheade [Donhead St. Mary], in the Countie of Wilts, informeth that Cap^tn^ Roberte Grove, of the same parishe, and formerlie of the Cavaleere partie, was absent from his house aboute five or six daies, at the time of the risinge of Salisburie, and was at the howse of one Mr. Molines nere Sherburne, a reputed Cavaleere, on the sondaie before the said risinge, upon wch daie hee sente his servaunte home to his howse at Dunhead, for a suite of Clothes, w^ch^, as the servaunte alleadged, his master was to weere at Dorchester assizes fouer daies after. He farther informethe, that there wente one out of the said Mr. Molines howse, that joyned with the rebells, while the said Cap^tn^ Grove was there, and farther hee saith not.

"Mr. Keate, of the same parrish of Dunhead, informethe, that in the Duske of the Eveninge, fouer or five daies after the riseinge at Sarum, hee observed, with his daughter, two persons on horsebacke to ride in hastilie, into the said Cap^tn^ Groves yarde, and hee enquiringe, after their goinge awaie the same nighte, or the nexte daie, but could not learne that these did, either."

"The Information of Annie Gaine of Dunhead St. Mary, in the county of Wilts,

"Saith that a ffortnight or three weeks before the rising att Sarum, hir sonne in lawe Doctor Donne, that then soiourned in her house, invited certaine persons to her house to a feast, whose names are as ffolloweth: Capt^in^ Grove, and James Bennett, both formerly in the King's army; Mr. Corsse, Mr. Greene, Mr. Goddard, Richard ffreaker, Robert Mullins, Will'm Meggs; and that there were present two brothers of the said Doctor, and others, whose names shee had forgott; and being asked, what was the reason of the said meeting, shee replied, itt was to make merrie att her sonne in lawes farwell, that was then to goe to live in the Isle of Wight; and further shee saith nott.

"Martha Lush of Dunhead above said, informeth, that the said Doctor Dunne, about two or three days after the s^d^. feast, and about a fourtnight before the rising att Sarum, came to her house, and beeginning discorse wth her, about her husband, said, that the Roundheads Religion was the worst of all Religions, and that you and I shall see the tyme, when Inch and Legge (meaning two ministers,) shall bee turned out of their parsonages; for that the said Inch preached a sarmon of thanksgiveing after Worcester fight, for the victorie obtained there; hee said further that the tyme may come that I may bee a friend to him for itt; and that the parliment men did deserve to have their heads, some of them, cutt off. Shee further informeth, that the said Doctor Dunne, att the same tyme was very much offended with her, for that her husband, that had been formerly a Cavaleer, was now ledd away by the said Inch his preaching; and further shee saith not.

"The said Doctor Donne, his brothers, and the rest of this meetinge are by the

honest people thereabouts all accompted for Cavalleers; The said Grove and Bennett havinge formerlie been in the Kinges armie; and the said Dunne was imprisoned soe soone as hee came in the Ile of Wight, for suspitious wordes hee spoke then, with some others that wente over thither with him, but were since released upon baile."

"Mr. Swanton of Sarum, informes, that the Highe Sheriffe of Wilts saw Mr Willoughbie amongst the Rebells nere Blandforde (hee being then a prisoner amongst them), the same daie the risinge was at Sarum; and the said Mr. Willoughbie doth not denye his being there, but saith it was to fetch off his wifes brother, one Mr. Greene, Junior of Meare [Mere], in the said Countie, that was gone alonge with the said Rebells."

"Mr. Kitson of Bishopston, in the countie of Wilts, and one engaged in the risinge at Sarum, Informethe, that as hee was marchinge alonge with the said risers nere Ewill on the west side of the said towne, as hee remembers, or hee is confidente upon the roade betweene Blandford and the said Ewill, hee observed a gentleman riding verie fast upp, from the reare unto the fronte of the said partie of risers, and thereuppon askinge who it was that rode upp soe harde, one that rode next this informante replyed, that it was one Mr. Willoughbie, who as this Informante observed was wel mounted, and had a sword by his side, but other armes this Informante knoweth not. This informant alsoe observed another man riding upp at the same [time], a little after the said Mr. Willoughbie, but doth not know who it was, nor did hee enquire after him.

"This is the Willoughbie of West Knowell [Knoyle], that had the rendesvouz of the ffox hunters at his house for a weeke together, but a very few daies before the risinge at Sarum, as abovesaid."

[*Endorsed*]

" Mr. Kitson his
examination; con-
cerninge the insurrec-
tion at Sarum,
and about Mr.
Willoughby."

"The Information of John Smyth of Lurgisshull, in the county of Wilts, carpenter,

"Saith, that there was a ffox hunting att the s[d] towne, the weeke before the rising att Sarum, w[ch] continued for 4 or 5 dayes, there were present the Lord Sands of Hampshir,* S[r] Henry Moore of Berkshire †; ould M[r] Garratt; Charles Garratt & Tho. Garratt, his sonnes living att Lamberton in Berkshire; Mr. Geo. Browne, and ould Mr. ffisher; Mr. Deane; Esq. Haill [Hill?], and one Mr. Newman. Hee saith further that Mr. John Mumparson [Mompesson ‡] came on foote, the morning that the rising was, to goe a hunting wth them. Hee

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* See antea.

† Sir Henry Moore (second), Bart., of Fawley Court; extinct 1807.

‡ Mompesson, of Bathampton.

further saith that the s[d] Lord Sands had eight Horses att the s[d] ffox hunting, and that hee and some of the s[d] party staid to hunt till Monday, the day the rising was, and the same day brooke up their sporte, and roade away, and others of the s[d] party went away the Thursday before."

"Mr. Mumparson informeth that the lord Sands bought three or foure of the s[d] horses of one Mr. Roughton, att or about the same tyme, and that one of the said horses was fitt for the great saddle,* and not for hunting, beeing of a very great valeue."

"Sir Tho: Moore & Mr. Deane that was of the number of the said fox hunters, were in the Rising att Salisbury."

"The examination of Rich. Rowe of Hornisham [Horningsham], in the county of Wilts, Turner,

"Saith, that hee was invited by Esquier Willowby of Westnowell [West Knoyle] † in the s[d] county, to come to his house to make Trenshards [trenchers] &c, about w[ch] worke hee was imployed for about two monthes or a quarter of a yeare, before the late riseing att Salisbury, in w[ch] tyme, about 14 days before the s[d] rising, hee observed a meeting of divers Gen[tm] att the s[d] Mr. Willowbys house to hunt the ffox; w[ch] meeting continued there for the space of a weeke, as hee remembereth. Hee saith that they hunted the ffox in the day tyme, & danced in the night, having a fiddler wth them. Hee farther saith, that most of them wore swords att the s[d] meeting. The names of the gen[tm] are as followeth: Cap[t] Butler of Hanley [Handley] in y[e] county of Dorsett, & his brother; Mr. Hollis of Monckton [Monkton] in y[e] county of Dorsett; Mr. Langford in the county of Dorsett; Mr. Hide of Hatch in y[e] county of Wilts; Mr. Greene`Jun[r] of Meere [Mere] in the county of Wilts in the late rebellion att Salisbury; Mr. John Marvin of Pertwood in the county of Wilts; Mr. Dorrington of East Burton in the parish of Meere. Hee farther saith, that he observed the s[d] Cap[t] Butler, Mr. Edw: Hide, & Mr. Will'm Stowerton, son of the Lord Stowerton [Stourton], to have beene generally att the s[d] Mr. Willowbys house, att other tymes a little before the s[d] hunting matche. This exam[t] farther saith, that the s[d] Mr. Willowby bought a very lustie white stoned Horse of a greate price, wth cropt eares, a month or six weeks before the rising, w[ch] hee heard say was to be rode att the hunting match. But this exam[t] did not observe, that the s[d] horse was rode by any body at the said match. This exam[t] further saith, that the s[d] Mr. Willowby & his wife, wth Mr. Greene Sen[r] of Meere & his wife, rode upon the Sabbath day to Salisbury, the day before the rising there; hee saith further, that the said Mr. Willowby was tryed for his lyfe, as beeing one of the risers att Salisbury. Hee saith that the greate stoned Horse was from home during the time of y[e] rising at Salisbury, for two or three days, and that Mr. Willowby, who came home on Monday att night, the day the rising was (wth a sword by his side) did not ride home on the s[d] horse. But y[e] s[d] horse came home the night following,

* This must imply a charger; although in *these* days hunters are more valuable than chargers.

† Willoughby, of West Knoyle.

and whether Mr. Willowby and his wife rode him to Salisbury hee knoweth not. This exam^t^ further saith that hee was invited by Mr. Willowby to come to his house the evening before the rising att Salisbury, beeing the Sabbath day, upon pretence to goe wth him to looke upon trensher worke early ye next morning, some twelve miles off. And this exam^t^ coming accordingly, Mr. Willowby was goone to Salisbury two hours before hee came, whereupon this exam^t^ sett up his horse in the stable; and the same night the groome runned away wth this exam^ts^ horse, after his M^r^ to Salisbury. Hee saith further that the s^d^ groom came home on Tusday night, w^th^out this exam^ts^ horse, and soe sone as he came home, hee went away, and has not been herd of since, and farther this exam^t^ saith not, but to the truth herof hee setteth his hand, the ninth day of July 1655

"The marke of Richard Rowe."

"This examination was taken
before [*blank*]"

"Ffarmer King of Maidenbradley informeth beeing att the tryall of the prisoners at Sarum; that one Arthur Elmes, one of the risers party, swore to the Grand Jury, that the above s^d^ Mr. Willowby was att Blandford amongst the Cavaleres, whereupon the Grand jury found the bill, but the s^d^ Elmes not coming in to the petty Jurie, hee was quitt by proclamation, and is nowe att libertie."

"The information of James Heelye of Sarum in the countie of Wilts, saith, that on the 12th of March laste, beinge the daye that the rising was at Sarum, there were seene at Mr. Bucklands of Standidge [Standlinch] in the said countie, some ten horsemen togeather in a partie, with swordes by their sides, amonge wch were Sr William Courtneye, Sr Charles Blunte, Sr Alexander Carre, and one Mr. Rallie of Douneton [Downton]; this being according to the relation of a justice of the peace of the said countie. Witnesse my hande the 17th of Julye 1655

"(Signed) Ja: Hely" *

"These were all papistes,
and the parties at whose
howse these were seen, were
of the same religion."

[*Rawl. MS., A.* 28, *f.* 280—296; *Bibl. Bodl.*]

---

* One of Cromwell's Commissioners for the County of Wilts. See his letters to Cromwell, 375, 376, vol. xviii.

Discovery of Two Graves cut in the solid Chalk Rock at Broad Hinton.

Communicated by the Rev. John A. Lloyd.

During the work of restoration of the parish Church dedicated to St. Peter, in the village of Broad Hinton, Brodehenton, or Hinton Magna, as it has been variously styled, two very interesting graves, excavated in the solid chalk rock, have been brought to light.

The builders had occasion to remove the soil to the rock for the foundations of an organ chamber, when they came upon some perfect human remains, deposited in a grave neatly cut in the solid rock with a prolonged semicircular excavation for the head, slightly inclined inwards, in the horizontal section—similar to the head cavity in two stone coffins found in the churchyard and south porch of the Church, and to be seen in stone coffins of the same period elsewhere, *e.g.*, in the coffin of Godfrey the Trumpeter, from the Chapel of the Guildhall, London, exhibited in the Guildhall Museum. At the same time they came upon what they considered must be the foot of another similar grave 5 inches to the westward of the head of the one first discovered. This proved to be the case, and as no stone cover had been found, nor traces of rebates to indicate its presence at any time, the ground was moved with great care from over the second grave, to find, if possible, marks of any lid or cover of wood having been used, which would have been shewn by the usual brown mark remaining in the soil after the wood itself has disappeared, but no such indication could be seen: I do not think, therefore, that these graves were at any time covered with a lid. The earth completely filled the cavity over the bones, and no weapons, ring, key, or other article was discovered in either grave to give a clue to the date of the interments. The two graves differ considerably in their east and west line of position: the westernmost

and the nave of the Church being parallel, that to the east having a very decided inclination northward, so decided as to lead one to suppose it could hardly be accidental. We find too that the horizontal line of this grave points directly to the altar. It is also noticeable that by the compass this grave, is as nearly as possible, east and west. The bones of the skeletons were found *in situ*. The skull in the longer grave seemed to possess no remarkable features, and was somewhat damaged by the workmen, but it probably belonged to a man of unusual stature, as the size of the skeleton corresponds with the size of the cavity (6 feet 9 inches), and no coffin would have been used. The skull from the other grave, however, appeared of unusual interest, and it was forwarded to Professor Rolleston, to describe and measure. This he has kindly done, and his highly interesting notice of the points of this skull is appended. The grave is only 5 feet 9 inches in length, so that the possessor of this remarkable skull could hardly have been of the average height. In the absence of more reliable data it is difficult to assign a date for these graves but what is very problematical, still we have these considerations:—(i.) there is the similarity between the Broad Hinton rock graves and the stone coffins in use, as Walcott informs us, in the tenth and two following centuries, with their circular head cavities and the greater width at the shoulder than at the foot; (ii.) if the position of this eastern grave be intentionally directed to point to the high altar, it is clear that the altar must have been there at the time the grave was made. Saxon remains of a former Church have been found and the present nave stands, as I believe, upon Saxon foundations. Eastward of the chancel arch, however, we come upon no foundations to indicate the size and form of an earlier apse or other termination to the building—no doubt because of the many vaults which undermine the chancel and have disturbed the ground. The present position of the high altar may be given as about A.D. 1220, and this gives a date for the grave in question subsequent to the beginning of the thirteenth century. (iii.) Possibly it might have been the resting-place of an ecclesiastic—monks were ordered to be buried in stone coffins by Abbot Warin, of St. Albans, 1183—95 (see Walcott)—and the custom of burying a parish priest

with his head to the east hardly seems to have been a recognized rule. Our list of vicars dates from 1321. (iv.) Another hypothesis has been suggested with reference to the position of this grave, viz., that since its position is east and west by the compass, it might have been the wish of the deceased person or of his friends to be buried in the line shewn by the magnet, then a novelty. This, again, would give a date subsequent to the thirteenth century, previous to which the compass would not have been generally known in this country.

I do not think it probable that the line of this grave would have been so much altered from that of other graves in the churchyard merely for the sake of avoiding some obstacle, as a tomb or grave. A person of sufficient importance to have such an excavation in the rock would hardly have been buried in an unusual position merely to avoid an obstacle.

These may have been the graves of some of the Wroughton family, whose name occurs in the neighbourhood, as Canon Jackson informs me, as early as 1356. A member of this family, William Wrofton, of Wroughton, died owner of Brodehenton, 1392, whose (probably) memorial stone, incised for a brass 3 feet in length, has been recently found in the chancel forming a base upon which rested a large classic tomb to his descendant Sir Thomas Wroughton. No bones were beneath this slab, and this lord of the manor may have been one of those interred in the rock outside the chancel, stone coffins not being then in such frequent use for persons of distinction as in previous years.

Professor Rolleston premises that the skull is not pre-historic, but previous to the introduction of the potato, which gives us a wide limit.

May not the Broad Hinton rock graves mark a kind of transition between stone and wood coffins, for the interment of persons of rank and importance.

It would be most interesting to know particulars of any similar graves, if discovered. At Heysham, in Lancashire, the rector informs me there are seven graves cut in the solid rock, the largest about 6 feet 4 inches: "Five full-sized ones, and two smaller ones

apparently prepared for mother and child. These are not all close to each other," but in these cases the upper surface of the rock is now level with the surrounding turf; interments, therefore, could not have been made on the site without excavating the rock. All the Heysham graves exhibit traces of rebates for stone covers, and at the head of each there is a square hole, probably used as a socket for the shaft of a memorial cross.

The Broad Hinton graves were 7 feet below the surface of the turf. They are now only 4 feet, much soil surrounding the Church having to be removed. In depth they are 1 foot 2 inches; in width, at shoulder, 1 foot 4 inches; at the foot (which is semi-circular), 9 inches.

Many interments have been made over these rock graves, but none at so great a depth as to have been likely to have disturbed the deposits found in them.

The following measurements of bones belonging to the skull described by Professor Rolleston will be of interest:—length of humerus, $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches; radius, $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches; ulna, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; femur, $16\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Burials in woollen, being ordered in 1678, have no connection with these graves.

Description of the skull, by Professor Rolleston:—

"A skull and lower jaw received by me from the Rev. J. A. Lloyd, for measurement and description, appear to have belonged to a man past the middle period of life who had been of considerable muscular strength, and whose well-filled-out globose brain case shews that he possessed a well-developed cerebrum. To these statements as to age and strength, bodily and mental, the details of the subjoined description and measurements will testify; as to the particular period in the world's history in which the owner of this skull lived these remains do not bear such undeniable evidence. Still the calvaria is too well filled out and too little rugged to render it likely that this skull belonged to pre-historic times; and the teeth, though they have not suffered more loss numerically than modern sets often do, have yet suffered more in the way of horizontal wearing down than

has been within my knowledge usual, at least in the upper classes of the country, since the cultivation and use of the potato became general. I cannot say very much more upon the anatomical data.

"Viewed in the *norma lateralis* the arch of the vault describes an equable curve from the centre of the glabella to the centre of the superior squama of the occiput; from which latter spot the contour line bends slightly forwards and downwards to the occipital spine or inion. This process is largely developed, duck-bill-shaped or bilabiate at its free surface for the attachment of the muscles of the nape. The temporal and mastoid muscular markings are similarly well marked. The zygomatic arch, though somewhat similarly marked, is nevertheless slighter than is often the case in similar crania, and a very large part of the inner wall of the orbit comes into view when the skull is looked at in this *norma lateralis*. The angles of the lower jaw are flanged out, both at the chin and at the angle of the lower jaw, properly so called, whereby an expression of firmness must have been given to the face as is still given to the skull. The upper jaw is nearly, but not quite, orthognathous.

"In the *norma occipitalis* the skull has the outlines of a pentagon with its upper angles rounded off; the point of maximum width lies just above the free edge of the squamous, as is so often the case, or so usually—owing to senile yielding of the walls—in skulls of this character, at the later periods of life, but it is only by a very small difference, less than the tenth of an inch, that the transverse diameter at this level exceeds that at the spot corresponding to the rounded-off parietal tubera. All the sutures visible in this view except the squamous are very largely obliterated.

"In the *norma basalis* the area visible is bisected transversely by a line drawn as a tangent to the anterior edge of the occipital foramen and such a line passes over the planes occupied by the external auditory meatuses. The muscular ridges on the occipital bone are well marked, as are also the posterior segments of the occipital foramen for the insertion of ligaments. The palate is still deep though very many teeth had been lost before death; the canines which are still *in situ* being very large, the anterior portion of the palate takes a subquadrate form, the line occupied by the incisors

being almost straight and at right angles to that of the other teeth.

"Looked at from in front this skull is remarkable for the extent to which the segments furnished by the malars to the orbital ring are, as it were, pushed backwards and slightly outwards, so that the greatest transverse measurement of the orbit, taken from the "Dacryon" dips markedly downwards, and that the angle formed by two lines taking these measurements in the two orbits and then prolonged inwards so as to meet in the middle line is less of an oblique angle than is usual. Still the height of the orbit is so great as to give it an index of .87, but a trifle under the index which is called "megasenne," and far above the average attained to by savage races, such as the modern Australian, or the skull of the old man of the chipped flint period from Cro-magnon. The borders of the orbits are markedly rounded out in the segments furnished by the malar bones. The nasals form a saddle-shaped mass, pinched together in the centre but expanding as well as rising in their lower part. The supraciliary ridges are tolerably prominent and there is scarcely any depression where they meet in the middle line. The malar processes of the maxillary bones form a considerable concavity on the exterior of the face.

"In the *norma verticalis* this skull presents a bluntly oval contour, tapering only very gradually from the point of maximum width either forwards or backwards. As the subjoined measurements show it is not phœnozygous. All the sutures visible in this view, though traceable, are anchylosed, more or less.

"The lower jaw is very characteristic of a strong man. Its posterior angles are somewhat rounded off, as it were, under the grasping and compressing action of the pterygoid and masseter muscles; but the long axes of the body and of the ramus of the bones form nearly a right angle with each other. The teeth are some of them much worn by use, others much decayed, but none had been lost before death, as had been the case in the upper jaw. The chin was as well pronounced as any other part of the osseous remains, having the outer angles of the mental triangle flanged boldly outwards.

"Measurements:—

Circumference	21.5
Length	7.4
Glabello-inial length	7.3
Breadth	6.
Height	5.5
Length breadth index	.76
Length height index	.74
Basi-nasal length	4.
Basi-alveolar length	3.7
Alveolar index	.90
Nasal height	1.9
Nasal width	1.1
Nasal index	.52
Orbital width	1.6
Orbital height	1.4
Orbital index	.87
Interzygomatic width	5.3
Maximum frontal	5.3
Minimum frontal	4.
Interangular width of lower jaw	4.45
Width of ramus	1.35
Height at symphysis	1.2."

[The Editor regrets that time did not allow for the preparation of a ground-plan showing the exact position of these very remarkable graves, which he has personally inspected. Their great depth below the surface, caused by the gradual accumulation of soil from many subsequent interments, would seem to point to a very early date as the period of their formation; and the absence of any fragment of any material, or indeed of any substance, other than the bones of the skeletons, would also tend to imply that they belong to a distant age. What that age was is mere matter of conjecture, though the Editor would venture to offer his opinion that it was probably much earlier than the thirteenth century, as suggested by Mr. Lloyd.

Indeed, as undoubted fragments of a Saxon Church have been discovered during the present restoration; and as the excavation of a sufficient receptacle for the corpse from the solid chalk seems but a simple process; moreover as—so far as has been ascertained—no special period is assigned by our writers on such subjects for burials in the living rock excavated in some degree to the shape of the corpse, there is no reason why the date may not be pushed back several centuries before the age proposed above.

The Editor cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact, how much of antiquarian interest may be noted and rescued from oblivion, during the restoration of old village Churches, by a careful and diligent examination on the part of the incumbent or other intelligent inhabitant; but then he must be on the constant look-out for fragments, which are otherwise soon cast aside or buried by the workmen: and he must have a reverential love of ancient work, or he will be disposed to pass over as rubbish what is oftentimes precious. Such, indeed, is the case at Broad Hinton; where the interesting old Church, so famous for its remarkable monuments, is now undergoing very careful restoration; not in the destructive hap-hazard way in which so many of the village Churches of England have been spoiled, but in that conservative spirit of preservation of all that is old which admits of being preserved, which delights the heart of the archæologist, too often, alas! having cause to mourn over the so-called *restoration* of Churches.]

H. F. BULL, Printer and Publisher, 4, Saint John Street, Devizes.

WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Account of Receipts and Disbursements for year ending 31st December, 1879.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DR.

1879.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1st.	To Balance brought from last account	152	15	9
	Less Life Membership Account	18	18	0
		133	17	9
Dec. 31st.	„ Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions received from Members during the year	159	11	6
	„ Transferred from Life Membership Account	2	18	7
		162	10	1
	„ Ditto received for Sale of Magazines	26	19	9
	„ Ditto ditto for "Jackson's Aubrey"	7	10	0
	„ Ditto ditto for Admission to the Museum	9	8	0
	„ Ditto ditto net proceeds of the Marlborough Meeting	4	4	9
		£344	10	4

CR.

1879.	DISBURSEMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.	By Cash, sundry Payments, including Postage, Carriage, &c.	10	7	9
	„ Ditto Printing and Stationery	16	4	7
	„ Printing and Engraving, &c., for Magazine, No. 53	51	0	10
	„ Ditto ditto No. 54	57	18	10
	„ Ditto ditto on account No. 55	0	16	10
		109	16	6
	„ Furniture and Fittings at Museum	23	17	1
	„ Miscellaneous Expenses at ditto	6	17	10
	„ Attendance at ditto	18	4	0
	„ Insurance	4	19	4
	„ Land and Property Tax	1	19	0
		55	17	3
	„ Commission, &c.	18	9	6
	„ Balance	133	14	9
		£344	10	4

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

DR.

1879.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1st.	To Balance brought forward	18	18	0
June 23rd.	„ Cash of Mr. John Mullings	10	10	0
		£29	8	0

CR.

1879.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.	By one-tenth to General Income Account	2	18	7
	„ Balance	26	9	5
		£29	8	0

July 10th, 1880.

Audited and found correct,

ROBERT CLARK,
W. HILLIER, } *Auditors.*

WILLIAM NOTT,
Financial Secretary.

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No. LVI. DECEMBER, 1880. Vol. XIX.

THE

WILTSHIRE

Archæological and Natural History

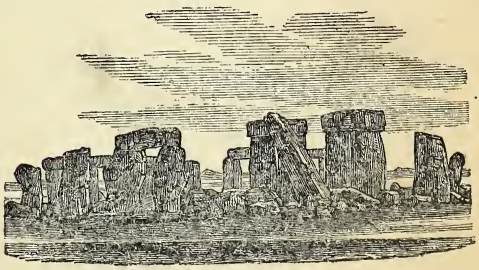
MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



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The Editor of the *Wiltshire Magazine* desires that it should be distinctly understood that neither he nor the Committee of the *Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society* hold themselves in any way answerable for any statements or opinions expressed in the Magazine; for all of which the Authors of the several papers and communications are alone responsible.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year*, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. William Nott, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. Smith, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and C. H. Talbot, Esq., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham.

The Rev. A. C. Smith will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

THE

WILTSHIRE
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MAGAZINE.

No. LVI. DECEMBER, 1880. Vol. XIX.

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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

Congress of the British Archæological Association at Devizes.

THE British Archæological Association held its thirty-seventh Annual Meeting this year at Devizes, from Monday, August 16th, to Saturday, 21st inclusive; it was, therefore, judged advisable that the Members of our county Society should combine their usual Annual Meeting with the Congress of the larger Association, which, by the courtesy of the officers of that body, they were permitted to do at half the accustomed charges for tickets.

The Congress proved to be of such extraordinary interest, and—under the genial presidency of LORD NELSON—was pronounced so eminently successful, that it has been thought desirable to preserve in the pages of the *Magazine* a somewhat fuller account of it than has been usual in the ordinary Meetings of the Society. For much of the details given below, the Editor desires to acknowledge his obligation to the columns of the "*Building News*," and to those of the "*Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*," from both of which copious extracts are taken.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16TH.

The Congress was opened with a meeting at the Town Hall, at 2.30, p.m., the MAYOR (Mr. Thomas Chandler) in the chair, well supported by the Rector and many members of the Corporation, as well as other gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood. The MAYOR offered a hearty welcome on behalf of the town to the British Archæological Association, which was seconded in eloquent terms by the RECORDER (R. L. Lopes, Esq.). The Rev. A. C. SMITH also offered a cordial welcome in behalf of the Wiltshire

Archæological and Natural History Society, and read a letter from the President of the Society (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), regretting that absence from England as Her Majesty's Commissioner in Roumelia prevented his attending, as he would otherwise have felt it a duty as well as a pleasure to do. Mr. Smith also gave a rapid sketch of the chief points of interest to be visited during the excursions, and especially enumerated the earth and stone works of the British period, which existed on the Wiltshire Downs in such proportions as they could not be seen elsewhere in the kingdom. The Rev. H. A. Olivier seconded the words of welcome, on behalf of the county Archæological Society, and called attention to the Museum, and more especially the "Stourhead" collection, as containing a variety of early British antiquities, unrivalled in its completeness, and all the produce of Wiltshire barrows. In reply Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., Treasurer of the British Archæological Association, in the absence of the President, desired to thank the Mayor and Corporation, and the Wiltshire Archæological Society, for the cordiality with which they had welcomed them. It was plain to him that Devizes was a very ancient borough, and that it had been represented by good men and true even before the time of Bishop Roger. Mr. George Wright, F.S.A., Congress Secretary to the Association, seconded the vote of thanks and briefly explained the order of proceedings for the week: and this terminated the morning meeting.

The "Borough Charters" were exhibited in the Council Chamber, and were inspected with considerable interest. These charters, to the number of eight or ten, for the most part confer privileges on the borough, or confirm previous grants: some of them are grants of fairs and markets, and these curious parchments, besides the text, in some cases, bear either engraved or pen-and-ink portraits of the monarchs whose pleasure it has been to confer these privileges. By the Empress Maud, it seems, a charter of liberties was granted to the inhabitants, which is supposed to be the earliest known record relating to the borough This charter was confirmed by Henry II., and there are many other charters and grants or confirmations of privileges by succeeding sovereigns. There is also a charter of

Henry III., dated Marlborough, in the thirteenth year of the king's reign. In the seventh year of this king, His Majesty had decreed at Calne "that a fair be held at Devizes once a year, viz., on the vigil, the day and the morrow of St. John the Baptist, for ever," but this fair, with others, has lapsed. Another charter is dated the fifth of Henry IV. (February 20th.) Another of Elizabeth, granted in the first year of her reign: and there are also charters of James I. and Charles I., the latter confirming the former and granting additional immunities to the corporate body, by which charter it seems they were governed until the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act. In the seventh year of James I. it appears that a grant of the fairs and markets was made to Edward Wardour, Esq. (27th June), for forty years, under a rent of £5, and in the same year the Mayor and Burgesses contracted with Mr. Wardour for the purchase of his leasehold interest, and took an assignment of it. There is also a curious document dated November 6th, first Henry VIII., inscribed "Pardon to the Mayor and Burgesses."

There were also exhibited, as municipal plate, the two maces of the time of Charles I.; the loving cup, bearing date 1620; a silver punch-bowl and ladle, once apparently the property of the "Brittox Club," of which little, if any, record exists, and having engraved on it the names of the members: and a "grace-cup," lent by Mr. G. Waylen, claiming to have been made from the famous Glastonbury thorn, and now lacquered with a strong varnish: it holds two quarts, but is marked off into half-pint measures by means of eight projecting pegs, one above another, in the inside of the cup. The exterior is richly carved, and on the lid is a representation of "The Nativity."

On leaving the Town Hall the Members proceeded first to St. John's Church, where the Rector (Rev. J. Hart Burges, D.D.) read a brief sketch of its architectural features. He claimed that it was, in many respects—to the architectural antiquary—one of the most interesting Churches in the country. "It was originally a cruciform edifice, with lofty central tower, and lantern over the intersection, the nave being destitute of side aisles. The tower, the transepts, and the vaulted chancel are the oldest portions of the Church, and

are chiefly of Late Norman character. They are stated to have been built about the same time as the castle, namely, 1130, and at the expense and under the direction of its celebrated founder, Roger Poore, Bishop of Salisbury and Chancellor to Henry I., whose works in architecture were the wonder of the age in which he lived. A learned professor tells us, that the small arcades used as a facing to the outside of the tower, as well as those within the belfry, the nail head, the chevron or grand diagonal ornament, the embattled fret, and the intersecting arches are so many proofs of the age of this curious building; and in further confirmation of this view we are reminded of the testimony of Bishop Roger's cotemporary, William of Malmesbury, whose eulogium on his works is fully borne out, even to the present day, as we look now on the masonry of the chancel and tower, square and solid in their firmness and substantiality as when they were first erected some seven hundred and fifty years ago.

"Thus, by general consent, the erection of this Church is ascribed to Roger of Sarum—and I should scarcely venture to question such opinion, but at the same time I am free to confess, that, looking at the pointed arches supporting the tower on the north and south, and from other little matters which have come under my notice, I would humbly venture to suggest that the assertion may at least be open to question.

"The tower is remarkable in form and ornament, the east and west arches, by which it is supported, are semicircular, while the north and south are pointed, though evidently built at the same time, and in the same style of architecture. On the north-west angle of the tower is an external belfry staircase, rising as a circular turret above the pinnacles, and of a rich character. Formerly a staircase led to it through the north-west pier, previous to the addition of the aisles. The eastern front of the tower is divided into two compartments separated by a cable and plain string moulding. In the lower division may be seen two semi-circular headed windows with a central mullion and cinque and quatrefoil dressings; and in the higher a series of five semi-circular arches, two of which appear to have been intended for windows. It is unquestionably a grand old tower, and

is said to have some resemblance to that of Tewkesbury Abbey. Its oblong form is that which is sometimes found in central towers, the measurement fron north to south being half as much again as from east to west. The upper chamber of the tower shows the remains of an arcade of intersecting Norman arches running round the tower. The arches have the chevron moulding, and the capitals are variously carved. On the other side the intersection is simply of two arches, but in the east the arches are larger and the intersection is triple, giving a richer effect. I believe I am not wrong in stating that in the original design these arches, as well as the windows above, were open to the Church; so giving a very striking lantern effect; though I am aware the question is disputed by some. As far as I have been able to judge, the platform below the arcade was placed at a later period for ringing purposes, and the beautiful work above much damaged. I may further add with reference to the masonry of the tower, that it is remarkable for the fineness of the jointing, which is supposed to constitute an additional indication of Bishop Roger's handiwork, the character of which is thus noted by William of Malmesbury: 'He erected extensive edifices at vast cost and with surpassing beauty, the courses of stone being so correctly laid that the joint deceives the eye and leads it to imagine that the entire wall consists of a single block.'

"The chancel is low and consists of two bays, arched over with bold transverse ribs, springing from clustered capitals at the sides, and in the north wall is one of the original windows with a semicircular arch, and ornamented with the zigzag moulding, though its proportions are injured by its having been lengthened. The east end has modern intersecting arcading, copied from a Norman fragment on the north wall.

"The transepts have been much cut about for the insertion of Perpendicular windows, but the string-course and parts of the round headed windows remain. It is clear the walls have not been disturbed, and the roof appears to be of the original pitch. So with the chancel, on the outer walls of which, within the present Church, the original Norman corbel-table, ornamented with grotesque heads, may yet be seen.

"The addition of side aisles and the cutting away of the basement of the staircase turret, is stated to have taken place in the fifteenth century; the residence of Duke Humphrey in the castle having given an impetus to ecclesiastical architecture. To the same period is also attributed the alteration of the windows of the transepts.

"On the north and south of the chancel are two private chapels, both of Late Perpendicular character, the more florid being attributed to Beauchamp, who held the town and castle for Edward IV.: the other is stated to have been built by Richard Coventry. On the moulding of the window of that on the north side traces of lettering were found, decipherable on one side of the window, which contained the sentence, 'Orate P Bono Statu Ricardi Lamb.' There was formerly an altar here, and in the decoration of the chapel the device of a rudder was used, found also in other Wiltshire Churches: the roofs of the chapels are of oak admirably carved. On the exterier of the south chapel the buttresses are highly decorated, and the embattled parapet ornamented with square panels, containing quatrefoils and a row of Tudor roses.

"The Norman nave has almost entirely disappeared, though on the east wall, which is, of course, part of the Norman tower, there remains a patch of diaper-work. I should add also that the abacus of the capitals of the tower pillars is ornamented with triangular indentations, like the impression of the point of a trowel on clay or mortar: and all the arches show foliage and zigzag mouldings."

Dr. Burges then stated that he proposed to open the lantern of the tower, and so reveal the beautiful Norman arcading in the upper part, now hidden by a lath-and-plaster ceiling; he also mentioned other alterations contemplated. The registers (he said) commence in October, 1559: the overseers' book in 1613: the churchwardens' book in 1762. The Church plate is of no interest, and for the inscriptions on the eight bells the reader is referred to a former volume of the *Magazine*,[1] There is one monumental brass of ancient date, that of John Kent, A.D. 1630.[2]

Mr. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., said Dr. Burges deserved their thanks

[1] Vol. ii., p. 350.

[2] See Kite's Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire, p. 85.

for the very able manner in which, in a few comprehensive words, he had detailed to them the history of the building. The Churches of Wiltshire they would find very different from those they saw last year in Norfolk. The cruciform plan seemed to be the general arrangement on which many of them had been erected, and originally with the tower in the centre. At Potterne they would see an example of such a Church in its original condition. Dr. Burges had referred to the tower, and he must add that it was a rare circumstance to find a tower that was not square. Having suggested that it was hardly possible to conceive a Church of that importance being built originally without the usual narrow side aisles, which the Normans were so fond of introducing, and which he thought there was evidence had existed, Mr. Brock said he regretted to have to make an observation with regard to the age of the building which might appear a little to clash with the generally-accepted opinion. On examining the building they found there were pointed arches with mouldings of precisely the same character as those of the circular ones, which indicated that the builders were well conversant with the use of the pointed arch. Round arches carried the broad faces of the tower, and pointed arches the narrow faces, and this indicated that the pointed arch was in use when the Church was erected. But history showed there were no pointed arches earlier than about 1145. He thought there would be very little opportunity for the erection of two such Churches as that and St. Mary's in the time of Bishop Poore, and he was led, therefore, to consider that they must attribute the foundation of the earlier portions to the more settled times of Henry II. He was crowned in 1152, and between that date and 1160 they might very reasonably set down the period of the erection of that Church. They would see similar arches at Malmesbury, which dated from about 1160, later than the time of William of Malmesbury, who, though a resident in the Abbey, made no reference to the present building, since it was later than his time.

Mr. Lambert said he could not believe that these Churches were ever finished by the founders. The Normans most decidedly began that Church, and they began it where they most wanted it, at the

chancel. In that comparatively early time the population was very small. The number of monks who came from Caen would not exceed six, or, at most, twelve; and though they doubtless did the best they could, this was then a great forest, and they could not possibly have finished the Church with its long nave.

After some farther discussion, the Members proceeded to St. Mary's Church, where Dr. Burges also gave a general outline of its principal features. "St. Mary's Church (he said) consists of a chancel, nave, two side aisles, western tower, and south porch—though I find Britton speaks of a north and south porch. From the different styles of its architecture it has evidently been erected at various and distinct periods. I find that there is a tradition that it was originally built on or near the site of an ancient Church; and I am told by one of my churchwardens that some years since foundations were discovered leading north-east across from the chancel to the buildings adjoining the churchyard, which were considered to be either the site of an old Church or Chapel. The chancel, which is the oldest part of the Church, is in the earliest Norman style, and supposed to have been built soon after the Conquest. The walls are of great thickness (4½ feet), faced on each side and filled with rubble. The masonry is much inferior to St. John's. You will observe a similar sort of arched roof to St. John's, which at least points to the same era of construction. It was originally lighted, as is stated, by five small semi-circular windows resting externally on a plain string-course. The corbel-table remains on the north and south walls, as also the original buttresses. These small windows just alluded to were replaced, it is supposed somewhere about the sixteenth century, by the present Perpendicular windows of three lights. The vaulted roof rests on well-carved capitals. An arcade originally ran round the walls, but has been cut away on the north and south sides to make room for the Late Perpendicular windows. There remains, however, very distinct traces of the arcade, and from them the arcade on the east wall was restored, in 1852, when the Norman east window was inserted above it. The shafts of the arcade appear to have been clustered or triple, and an extra chevron moulding set with points jutting out from the walls was introduced into the arches.

"The porch comes next in order of date, and is considered to be a very beautiful specimen of Norman transition to Early English, having zigzag ornaments on a pointed arch, and it is said that a custom prevailed amongst the architects who succeeded the Normans of preserving the doorways of those Churches they rebuilt or altered. Its parapet is assimilated to that of the nave, but the outer doorway is of great interest, showing the characteristic Norman mouldings, and deep splay on an arch of the Early English form. The capitals are Early English, and the shafts are dwarfed. Above the inner doorway is a niche for a statue. The existence of this porch leads to the supposition that the present nave is built upon the Norman foundations, and as a matter of fact you can distinctly trace on the north side the original courses of masonry.

"The nave is large and lofty, as well as the aisles, from which it is divided on each side by a series of fine arches, springing from octagonal columns. The clerestory is lighted on each side by five windows. The nave has an embattled parapet, and enriched by buttresses rising above it in the form of pinnacles. The rood turret, hexagonal in form, rises above the roof at the north-east corner. Outside there is a beautiful statue of the Virgin and Child, standing in a rich tabernacle placed on a pedestal, having shields sculptured on the plinth and inscribed with the initials of Wm. Smith, rising from the eastern end of the ridge of the roof, in the usual position of the sancte bell. The carving is very fine. Report says, with what truth I know not, that when Cromwell's soldiers were in the town this statue was taken down and buried, and so escaped the hammers of the iconoclasts. Within, the chancel arch, being cut through a Norman wall, is of unusual thickness, and panelled towards the nave. There are lofty tabernacles on either side, within which, when I restored the Church, four years ago, I found traces of colouring and gilding—below these are hagioscopes. The tower arch is a fine specimen with deep mouldings.

"In restoring the Church, I took away the lath-and-plaster ceiling which covered some of the rich woodwork of the beautiful roof of oak resting on bold and very beautiful carved corbel heads, which look fresh, and clearly defined. A king, queen, and bishop alternate.

The tie-beams and cornices have hollow mouldings adorned with pateræ, which I ventured to colour a little. The space above the beams is filled with pierced tracery. You may observe at the termination of the additional rafter at each end a beautifully-carved demi-angel, in oak, bearing a shield projecting from the corner at either end.

"Round the cornice in the centre compartment of the roof is the following inscription :—

'Orate pro aia Willi Smyth qui ista eccliam fieri fecit qui obiit primo die mensis junii ano dni millo cccc xxxvi.'

"Also in removing the plaster over the chancel aisle I came upon the rood loft door, which I left open as an interesting feature in the Church's history: and I opened out the fine west window, by removing the west gallery and the organ, which completely blocked it from view." The Rector also mentioned other alterations he had made, described the six bells with their inscriptions, and observed that the churchwardens' accounts commence in 1493, the overseers' from 1613, and the registers from 1569.

Mr. Brock congratulated Devizes and the Rector on possessing two such beautiful Churches. St. Mary's—as well as St. John's—bore out, so far as the later portions were concerned, the dates that had been ascribed to them. In the re-building any of the Members who walked round would see how closely the builders had adhered to the old foundations; these showing that Devizes at the period of the first erection of the Church must have been large enough to have required two such Churches. As to the older part of St. Mary's the architecture appeared to have been the work of the same hand that constructed St. John's. From the character of the work it appeared that the Normans had not executed it in the substantial manner in which they had built St. John's, and it was not unusual to find their work in some cases in this respect the reverse of what it was elsewhere. He looked upon it that when that Church was erected the builders did not desire to expend so much money as in the other; in fact it was built a little less expensively. It would be of interest to the people of Devizes to review what appeared in the history of

the town as to the date at which it became a corporation: for he could not imagine that a town which required two such large Churches as St. John's and St. Mary's—even supposing that St. John's was a little less in size than it is now—had, just at that period, if they were to believe all that was told them, received its first charter. He thought those facts pointed very conclusively to the existence of a large population before the building of the castle; and instead of the population being the result of the castle, the castle was rather the result of there being a population here. Amongst other peculiarities which Mr. Brock pointed out was the lowness of the chancel arch, which was attributable to the size of the beautiful semi-Norman chancel which has the square end so common at that period; and if they found in any Church in this locality a circular apse, they might attribute its foundation to a period anterior to Norman times, or showing some influence different from that of the district.

The party then proceeded to The Castle, where they were most courteously received by Mr. Leach, and conducted over the grounds and the building; and here Mr. Brock again addressed them, pointing out with the skill of an able connoisseur the principal features worthy of observation. He said that having been asked by Mr. Leach to say a word or two on the matter, he should perhaps in doing so start a theory which would be new to them. An archæologist who endeavoured to compare one building with another might very often, by the knowledge he possessed of works of different periods, throw light on that immediately before him; and he had therefore no hesitation in saying that they must look for a British origin for that great earthwork. The county of Wilts had one of the finest earthworks remaining in the country, at Old Sarum—a work that was known to have been commenced by the Ancient Britons, used by the Romans, occupied by the Saxons, and afterwards held by the Normans. In the earthwork now before them they had precisely the same outline as at Old Sarum. Any person who took the trouble to examine a map of Devizes would readily see how all the lines of thoroughfare converged round the castle just as they did at Norwich, where there were similar earthworks to this, and most

probably of the same date. He would call attention to the exact resemblance between the earthwork at Devizes and at Old Sarum, for it was said that the ditches at the latter place were deeper than they were here. But he might inform them that the engineer who constructed the railway said he had found that the ditches had extended no less than 45 feet below their present level; and when they considered the extreme depth of the ditches now, they would realise how enormous they had been. It might be asked then, how was it there was no reference to the castle before the time of the Normans? and he was ready to agree that there was no mention of it. But they might suppose the old British earthwork to have remained on that hill in a similar manner to the earthwork at Maiden Castle, in Dorsetshire, till the time of the great Bishop Roger Poore, who, like many another Norman, was attracted by the value of those earlier earthworks for the erection of a castle, and who was wise enough to erect the castle upon them. He was glad to be able to say the foundations which existed showed clearly workmanship of the time of Roger Poore. If, therefore, he had said anything which went to show that Bishop Poore was not the founder of the two Churches, he was glad to be able to point out how history and archæological evidence went hand in hand in pointing to the builders of the castle. Having spoken of some of the remains of the earliest portions of the castle, Mr. Brock said that all archæologists must feel indebted to the present owner for the most careful way in which he had preserved every little fragment. They ought not to leave these pretty grounds without rendering their thanks to Mr. Leach for permitting them to see them. His remarks with respect to the ancient British date of the foundations were illustrated, he said, by some of the pottery preserved inside the castle, and which was certainly a thousand years older than anything they had seen of Norman style.

Mr. Leach expressed his obligations to Mr. Brock for his address, and said he hoped the Members of the Society would walk through the grounds whenever they pleased during their stay in Devizes.

The archæologists next visited the Museum, but assembled again at the Town Hall, at 7, p.m., to listen to the President's address.

Lord Nelson said, he felt pleased to accept the office of President over their meeting, though he had no pretensions whatever to great archæological lore, and really represented the more humble—but perhaps as useful, and certainly more numerous—class of people who might do a great deal for archæology—the busy bees, who might gather honey for the greater men to work and feed upon. Speaking of what archæology had already done, he said there was no end to the immense advantages they saw in these days from their work in elucidating history, for during the last half-century the history of this country had been really re-written by the means of archæological research. These recurring meetings, though they might be held amidst scenes often visited and reported on before, had a greater work to perform than was at first apparent. It was much more than the additional pieces of information that might be gathered upon each fresh visit, and from the valuable papers which would be read. Its greater work was a missionary one, and the zest that such meetings gave to all to become antiquaries, to gather together little bits of their family history, and of the history of their respective parishes, to support the local Association, promote the circulation of their *Archæological and Natural History Magazine,* and contribute to its pages: in that way a mass of information was gathered together from time to time which helped to elucidate different obscure parts of history, and had already, through the *Wiltshire Magazine,* added much to the materials for a county history which with much less labour than Sir Richard Colt Hoare and his noble compeers bestowed, would greatly enlarge and illustrate the work associated with his name. This reminded him that a well-known archæological friend, Canon Jones, of Bradford, was on the point of bringing out a most interesting book on the original uses of the different parts of Salisbury Cathedral, with a second volume on the whole religious history of the diocese from the earliest times, a publication which in such hands would be most useful to the history of the county. In reference to the ecclesiastical branch of their subject, he illustrated by two instances how a true knowledge of archæology would have had an eminently useful purpose. When restoring Salisbury Cathedral there was a natural desire expressed by the laity that they

should not have a closed choir, and that they might have seats, if not in the choir, at least in the north and south-eastern transepts. Both these demands were looked upon as contrary to old arrangements: but he believed that Canon Jones's book would show that at Salisbury the returned stalls were a mistake, as it was a foundation of secular canons, and that in the original design the laity sat in the presbytery and the two eastern transepts, thereby surrounding the altar. There was a direct order in part of the Old Sarum Use that the priest walking round the altar should incense the people in the transepts and in the presbytery. The other case he adduced was about the use of colours at the different Church festivals and seasons. The colours adopted by many in ignorance of the subject were taken from the modern Roman Churches, whereas a study of archæology had shown that the colours of the Old Sarum Use were taken partly from the Gallican Church and partly from the Eastern Church, and so were one of the witnesses of our independence of Rome. In these two instances it was clear that a true knowledge would have avoided a cause of offence, and, if the deductions of Canon Jones were correct, would have shown that a desire to act according to the old order of things would have been in favour of rather than against the natural desires of the people. His Lordship then proceeded to point out that they might assist in increasing their archæological knowledge by preserving the old names of the different fields and farms. Every field of the country had a name, and many were still retained by mere tradition among the old labourers and in the old parish maps and terriers. Some of more modern date only referred to the size of the field on its comparatively recent allotment, such as "Hundred acre," (which generally meant "under acre,") and "Ten furlong," or the like, but there were much older names than those, and if they ever attempted to walk the bounds of an old Saxon charter many of the old names, if kept, would help out the boundaries, and the specified points on the boundary would give point and explanation to the names. Whelpley, Wellow, Landford—often spelt with two l's—were a proof of the British being originally to the east of their Christchurch Avon. Cerdic's battle of Charford drove them to the other side, and caused

the succession of forts from Old Sarum down the valley protecting the western lands to which they retired. A few years ago, in digging a rabbit burrow, Lord Radnor's keeper came upon an old Saxon chief, with his sword by his side, who had evidently fallen in the moment of victory in the middle of the fortified pah he had taken from the British—following up the successes of Cerdic, and driving the Britons on the other side across the river at Britford, as it was still called. That showed the use of preserving names and the old earthworks. His Lordship then proceeded to refer to some of the places of interest which it was the intention of the archæologists to visit. Referring to the tumuli, he said those on the Wiltshire downs had been sufficiently excavated, and he thought nothing could justify the profanation of old burial-places when there was a certainty of no new discovery being made. He did not see, however, why a careful tunnelling should not be conducted under the so-called altar-stone at Stonehenge, to see if any remains which might illustrate the age of Stonehenge could be found there or within the sacred circle; and, secondly, he advocated the replacing of those stones which had fallen within man's memory, or a record of which had been carefully preserved. The mechanical appliances of the present day could easily replace them. The necessity of something being done to preserve the ruin as handed down to us was becoming more and more pressing. One of the great stones was gradually leaning more heavily on a stone of the inner circle, and it might come down any day. Some means should be taken by artificial supports to prevent that catastrophe, and he could not for the life of him see why, when that was done, they might not have those stones replaced whose position was clearly known, and whose fall had been carefully recorded. Having briefly glanced at the programme, the Noble Earl said he earnestly wished them a happy and successful meeting, and he should be fully satisfied if under his presidency many of the "small fry" learnt their own usefulness and resolved to put their shoulders to the wheel, and endeavoured to collect and preserve all such monuments of the past as came in their way, so as to bring them under the notice of the greater *savans*.

The Mayor proposed a vote of thanks to the Noble Earl for presiding, and for his delivery of the introductory address, which was carried with applause.

At 8 o'clock the annual dinner took place at the Bear Hotel, the President of the Meeting in the chair, when the usual loyal and complimentary toasts terminated the first day's proceedings.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17th.

The archæologists, to the number of about one hundred, left Devizes at 9, a.m., and halted first at Potterne Church, where they were met by the Vicar (The Ven. Archdeacon Buchanan) who conducted them round his handsome Church, and where Mr. Loftus Brock pointed out the most interesting features and again called attention to the cruciform shape, this being another instance, and a very excellent specimen of the style of old Wiltshire Churches, so many of which are of similar design. The massive square tower, with its elegant exterior tracery, and splendid arches, was much admired; and a good deal of attention was directed to the old font, which was found buried beneath the one now in use while the excavations were being made on the restoration of the Church a few years ago. The font is circular in form, very massive, and it is conjectured that it belonged to an early Saxon Church supposed to have existed in another part of the parish, where traces of early interments are to be found.

The party then briefly inspected the old gabled "Church House," and more leisurely examined the fine old "Porch House," so carefully restored by Mr. Richmond, R.A. Here at the summons of the President, the Rev. H. A. Olivier, whose father was for many years lord of the manor of Potterne, and to whom the old house once belonged, gave its history, so far as it was known, and exhibited a drawing of the place as it was in his time: and the Rev. A. C. Smith made some remarks on its admirable restoration by Mr. Richmond, pointing out the true archæological spirit he had shown in retaining all that was capable of being preserved, and in restoring by copying as much as possible from undoubted original work. From the Porch House the party drove to Eastwell House,

by permission of Mrs. Grubbe, and much admired that ancient residence of the Grubbe family, which has been located there for above three hundred years. Thence they proceeded, through Erlestoke, to Edington Church, and here they spent a considerable time in inspecting that noble specimen of Late Decorated architecture. Here Col. BRAMBLE gave a full explanation of the chief features of interest in this magnificent building : prefacing his remarks with some allusions to the Battle of Ethandun. He said the parish was long considered to have been the scene of that battle where King Alfred obtained what Camden speaks of as "the most glorious victory that was ever obtained over the ravaging Danes, and drove them to that extremity that they took solemn oath immediately to depart the land." The claims of Edington, however, he said, had been disputed, and after a careful perusal of the arguments he had come to the conclusion that Edington was not the site of the battle. Setting aside the question of the battle, the history of the parish appeared to be confined to that of the priory attached to the Church near which they were then standing. Having traced this as far back as 967, but of which there was very little record, Colonel BRAMBLE said the rectory from 1286 to 1351 was a prebend of Romsey, and the names of several rectors presented by the abbess during that period had been preserved. Of the early Church, however, no vestiges appeared to remain above ground. In 1347 a College of Canons was established there, which afterwards became a branch of the great Augustinian Order known as the *Bonhommes,* who were little known, and according to Col. BRAMBLE, had only two other houses in the country. The monastic buildings were then traced up to 1784, when the property was purchased by Joshua Smith, and at his death was sold to the ancestors of the present worthy owner of the property, who pulled down the buildings and erected the mansion at Erlestoke with the materials. Passing on to the Church, before which they stood, Col. BRAMBLE said the President had the day before referred to the satisfaction felt by archæologists at occasionally meeting a Church not restored, and said they might feel that satisfaction to the fullest extent at Edington. The architectural features of the Church, which is cruciform

in shape, were then described. It partook (he said) both of the Decorated and Perpendicular styles, and appeared to be of the date when Decorated architecture merged almost imperceptibly into the Perpendicular. The windows—one of which was said to be in a very dilapidated and dangerous condition—the monuments, and other interesting interior parts of the Church were also explained.

Lord Nelson then introduced Mr. Powell, who read a report of the restoration he proposed. Mr. Brock and Mr. Picton also commented on various architectural points, and then the archæologists wandered through Mr. Newman's house, where some old oak panelling attracted them; and by the old monastic fish-ponds, and through the glorious monastery gardens, and by the curious double conduit, where two parallel pipes lying close together discharge hard and soft water to this day; and then a stroll through a meadow brought them to the little inn at Tinhead, where an excellent luncheon awaited them, and to which they did ample justice.

Luncheon over, Lord Nelson desired the archæologists to assemble beneath the wide-spreading branches of a huge lime-tree hard by, and then called upon the Rev. A. C. Smith to give some account of Bratton Castle or Camp and the white horse near it. Mr. Smith described the camp as a good specimen of a British fortification, subsequently occupied by the Saxons and Danes. He stoutly maintained that the battle of Ethandun was fought at Edington, hard by, and that Bratton Camp was the fortification to which the Danes retreated, and where they were eventually defeated by King Alfred. The white horse now occupying the steep side of the adjoining down, though not the original, was on the same site as that which was cut to commemorate the victory at Ethandun. The query was (he said) how those who occupied the camp obtained water on those eminences, and he explained a theory which was entertained by himself and other Wiltshire antiquaries that they were supplied by means of dew ponds or cloud ponds. Mr. Brock expressed his satisfaction at hearing a Wiltshire archæologist describe the camp as British: until recently such works had passed for Anglo-Saxon and Norman, but they were now generally accepted as originally British. He agreed with Mr. Smith as to the probability of the

battle of Ethandun having been fought at Edington, and showed how the name seemed to point to that place.

The Vicar of Edington then put in a plea for contributions towards the restoration of his Church, and Lord Nelson expressed a hope that the interesting account of it by Colonel Bramble would really be the starting-point towards its restoration, and commended the preservation of such a valuable historical monument in regard to change of style, as not merely a parochial, or even a county, but a national undertaking. A discussion then arose as to whether many of the old roads reputed to be Roman were not really British, Mr. Myers, F.S.A., advancing the theory that not only the camps and stations, but the so-called roads of the Romans were merely utilizations of British trackways and stations. Mr. Picton, F.S.A., however, differed in opinion, and asked for proof of this, either from documents or British remains found on the roads; remarking that on the contrary these roads agreed precisely with undisputed Roman works of engineering in Italy, France and Germany.

A short drive to Bratton, and a ramble on foot down a steep path into the valley and up again to the knoll beyond, conducted to the pretty little Church which stands sequestered from the village, and nestling in a hollow beneath the downs; and here Mr. Brock again called attention to the cruciform arrangement which he had already remarked in so many instances to be a peculiar feature of the village Churches of Wilts. Hence a long and steep climb brought the archæologists to the "Camp" and the "White Horse," which were severally examined, and again discussed; and the magnificent and extensive view from this commanding eminence having been thoroughly enjoyed; it was time to descend the hill and rejoin the carriages, and drive first to Steeple Ashton Church, where the Vicar (Rev. A. O. Hartley) received his numerous visitors, and conducted them round his noble Church, which is a fine example of Late Perpendicular work, with lofty west tower, and pinnacled and battlemented nave, aisles, and chancel. Mr. Hartley also read notes on the architecture of the Church, and called attention to the stone groining of the roof. From Steeple or Staple (Market) Ashton a short drive brought the party to Keevil, where first the Church was visited and

then Mrs. Kenrick's beautiful old timber-house, having a central hall, as in the Potterne example. There was scarcely time for a glance at the gabled manor-house; and the archæologists halted but once more on their homeward route, to visit the unpretending little Church at Poulshot, where the Rector (Rev. H. A. Olivier) read a short paper, pointing out its principal features, and showing how the Early English Church was re-modelled in the sixteenth century.

In the evening a meeting was held at the Town Hall, when papers were read by Mr. J. A. Picton, on the "Ethnology of Wiltshire, as illustrated in its Place-Names," and by Dr. Stevens, on "Discoveries of Palæolithic Flint Implements, with Mammalian Remains, in the Reading Drift." Both papers called forth a very interesting discussion, in which the President (Lord Nelson), Mr. Cunnington, Mr. Wright, Mr. Myers, and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18th.

Leaving Devizes at 9, a.m., a large party drove first to Bishops Cannings Church, where the Vicar (Rev. C. W. Hony) received and conducted them over that fine specimen of Early English architecture, and Mr. Brock made some very interesting remarks on the building, calling attention to the simple character and deep mouldings of the Early English work, and showing that in the chancel the lancets and string-course were insertions in an older—probably a Saxon—wall. Then Mr. Brock completely demolished the traditional story of the "meditation chair," by pointing out that the framing was modern, that the painted panel was formerly joined to others, inasmuch as one edge of the back of the chair was rabbetted, showing that there had been a continuation of the panelling, and giving it as his opinion that it had probably been part of a rood-screen, until utilized for this wooden stall or chair in comparatively modern times. From Bishops Cannings the Rev. A. C. Smith acted as cicerone on the downs, and led the party first to *Wansdyke* at Shepherd's shore, conducting them some hundred yards along the bank, till a favourable sample of that great earthwork could be inspected: here Lord Nelson called a halt, and invited the archæologists to recline on the

embankment while Mr. Smith discoursed on the dyke, which he described as a frontier rampart thrown up by the Belgic invaders of the southern portion of Britain against the attacks of the aboriginal inhabitants, and pointed out its ditch towards the north, clearly indicating that its defensive purpose was to guard a people dwelling in the south. He then described the course of the dyke, traces of which may be seen from the Bristol Channel, till it enters the county at Neston Park, and again may be recognized at Spye Park and Wans, but ascending the downs above Blackland Hollow, retains its huge proportions for an unbroken length of near ten miles, as it is carried in an irregular line along the hills from east to west. Mr. J. T. Burgess, Mr. Picton, and Mr. Morgan also made some observations, but none disputed its Belgic origin, which is now generally accepted; Mr. Morgan, however, called attention to the fact that it became the boundary of the Saxon Kingdom of Wessex.

A short drive of two miles, with many noble barrows on either hand, and then Mr. Smith called a halt where the Roman road coming down from Calston, crosses the London Road, and steers towards Silbury. The grassy ridge of the old Roman highway is very distinguishable at this spot, and Mr. Smith explained that this was a road which runs in a direct line from Aquæ Solis (Bath), through the Roman station Verlucio (Wans), to Cunetio (Marlborough); and pointed out what a straight course it took, making apparently for the very centre of Silbury, though, on approaching that tumulus, it was found to diverge to the south in order to avoid it. Mr. Burgess gave corroborative evidence in regard to Brinklow Hill, in Warwickshire, where, in respect to the Foss Way, a similar detour had been made by the constructors of the road. Mr. Cunnington referred to Mr. Fergusson's conviction that an investigation would lead to the finding of traces of the road directly under the hill, but his opinion had been proved to be unfounded, and the actual road had been discovered some yards to the south. The road had been formed by digging a ditch on each side of it, and throwing up the material; not as in Warwickshire, where the materials had been obtained from pits.

Arrived at Abury, Mr. Smith at once conducted the archæologists

to the vallum or ridge surrounding the enclosure, and the company made a circuit of about one-fourth of its circumference; and then at a convenient spot for a general view of the whole area, they reclined on the slopes of the embankment; and, called on by the PRESIDENT for a description of the "Circles," the Rev. A. C. SMITH declared that they were now looking at what was, though mutilated, the very finest specimen of a British antiquity in these islands. He first called attention to the stupendous earthworks on which they were assembled, the outer mound 30 feet in height, and the ditch 30 feet in depth, the whole sloping side of the embankment measuring no less than seventy feet. He bade them observe that here, not as at Wansdyke, the ditch was *inside*, and therefore was not constructed for military purposes; but the sloping sides of the bank would form most convenient accommodation for spectators who might be witnessing anything that was being transacted on the level area within. Enclosing this area, and but a short distance from the ditch, stood a circle of stones, one hundred in number, and beyond stood two large "temples," as they were generally considered, each formed of a double circle of stones, and containing in the centre of the southernmost circles a single stone, called the "obelisk," and in a similar position in the northern circles, three stones, known as the "cove." Then two avenues, each formed of two hundred stones, and each extending about a mile, conducted, the one towards the south-east, by Kennet to the top of Overton Hill, where it terminated in a small circle of stones, called the "Sanctuary"; and the other towards the south-west, by Beckhampton. Such is the general outline of Abury, as described by Aubrey (*c.* 1660), Stukeley (*c.* 1743), Sir Richard Hoare (*c.* 1812), and the modern historian of Abury and Stonehenge, to whom archæologists are so much indebted—Mr. William Long. He would now direct the special attention of his hearers to the size of the two temples within the area. Stukely, who saw them in comparative perfection one hundred and forty years ago, declared that each of them was four times as large as Stonehenge, while Aubrey, who lived above two hundred ago, and saw them in still better preservation, declared that Abury as far exceeded Stonehenge in size as a Cathedral exceeds a parish Church. He had no desire

to depreciate Stonehenge, indeed, it would ill become the Secretary of the Wiltshire Archæological Society to decry one of the grandest antiquities of which the county was so proud: still, it was only right to point out the superior size of Abury, which was much overlooked by archæologists, and the calling attention to its dimensions did not in reality detract from, or diminish in the least degree, the glory of Stonehenge. Abury was undoubtedly the oldest of the two monuments, it was constructed of enormous blocks of unhewn stone, whereas those of Stonehenge had been dressed with the chisel. The stones of which Abury was formed, as well as the larger stones of Stonehenge, were drawn from the downs about a mile and-a-half distant, but *how* they were brought, and *how* they were placed in position by a people who possessed little mechanical knowledge, he would leave the Members of the Association to determine.

The Rev. Bryan King, Vicar of Abury, followed by describing the discoveries of broken sarsens, pottery, and deer's horns which had been made from time to time during the seventeen years of his incumbency, during excavations carried on by the Wiltshire Archæological Society,[1] and otherwise. As to its purpose, Dr. Fergusson had started the theory that it was a post-Roman work, and a mere burial-place, but in all the excavations not a single human bone had been discovered; but British pottery and red deer's horns, besides the burnt wood and straw which had been used for heating the stones before they were broken up by means of cold water laid on the hot stones, after the manner once in vogue for their destruction. It had long since struck him as a remarkable truth that in the temples, even of heathen people, as in India and Egypt, might be seen indications that those nations had some conception of the mystery of the Trinity, and here they had the same fact illustrated by the one stone in the centre of one temple and the three stones in the other.

Mr. Picton, F.S.A., considered that the enclosure was a vast amphitheatre, and on a scale of magnitude surpassing even the Colosseum itself. The large flat area was for the performance of spectacles or whatever else was transacted, and the sloping side of

[1] See *Magazine*, vol. x., pp. 209—216.

the bank was for the accommodation of the people. The two circles inside the area he felt assured must have been intended for some sort of religious rites connected with processions which probably entered and retired by the avenues.

Mr. Myers pointed out that here was an example of a work being constructed without the use of tools, a fact corresponding with the Scriptural record of the injunction to the ancient Israelites that no tool should pass over their altars. Abury was without doubt by far the largest and most interesting pre-historic monument in England, and indeed—except at Carnac—he knew of nothing to be compared with it.

Dr. Stevens asked the company to consider a circumstance which had struck him as worth notice, that in respect to the number of stones, the multiple of three seemed to be adopted, as twelve, thirty, the numbers they had heard stated, with reference to the outer and inner circles of each of the two temples. The recurrence of the number three was most significant, in all kinds of matters, and might be noticed with great frequency in public-house signs, as "Three Crowns," "Three Tuns," "Three Cups," "Three Bells," &c., indeed the mystic properties of that number might be indefinitely descanted on. He believed that all these circles were based on multiples of three.

Mr. Cunnington, speaking of the "Sarsens," remarked that they were the remains of a layer of sandstone which once overlaid the chalk; he deeply regretted the breaking up and removal of so many of them for building purposes.

Mr. Morgan, F.S.A., suggested that the word "Abury" was derived, not from the Saxon *ea* (a river), but from the Icelandic root *aar* (a year), and that the name meant a yearly assembly of people.

Mr. Brock, F.S.A., gave it as his decided opinion that this was a temple, and that the two avenues described the form of a serpent, of which the head existed in the form of a double circle on Overton Hill.

Mr. Smith then led the party round the remaining portion of the vallum, and afterwards to the more important of the stones still standing, including two which formed part of the cove in the centre

of the northern circle, and two unusually large stones at the southern point of the outer ring, which indicated the entrance to the Kennet avenue. It was now time to adjourn to Mr. Kemm's magnificent barn, where a very handsome luncheon had been prepared by Mr. Peter Neate, of the "Red Lion," on which the PRESIDENT (Lord Nelson) highly complimented him: and at the same time tendered the hearty thanks of the Association to Mr. Kemm and his daughters, for the use of his noble barn, and for the beautiful manner in which the tables had been decorated. Mr. KEMM expressed the pleasure it had given him to oblige the Association, when the Rev. BRYAN KING explained that their obligation to Mr. Kemm was greater than they supposed, for they had been invited to visit the picturesque grounds of the Manor House, where Mrs. Kemm would be delighted to offer them a cup of tea: Mr. King also exhibited a red deer's horn, and remarked that such was the implement with which the dyke had been formed, and which had been found in a place where the dyke had been levelled. The horn was used for pecking the chalk or earth, and doubtless the chalk or rubble of which Silbury Hill was formed was pecked with such implements.

The Church was next visited, and here the Vicar gave a short outline of its architectural history, pointing out specimens of Saxon as well as Norman work, and showing what additions had been made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Mr. King concluded his remarks by appealing for aid to make this Christian Church worthy of its position in the midst of the grandest heathen temple of Europe.

A visit to the fine old gabled Manor House, the hospitable abode of Mr. Kemm, where a refreshing cup of tea awaited the members, concluded the visit to Abury. Thence Mr. SMITH conducted the party by the Kennet avenue to the site of its termination on Overton Hill, the highly-revered "Sanctuary," as the small double circle of stones was called, but of which not a vestige now remains; and here he pointed out to them another portion of the "Roman Road," and the course of the famous "Ridge Road," or "British Trackway," which, descending from Salisbury Plain, and traversing the Vale of Pewsey, by Broad *Street*, and Honey *Street*, crosses Wansdyke above

Alton, and descends to Eastern Kennet, then mounting to this spot, continues its sinuous course along the brow of the downs on Hackpen, and so on by Barbury Castle; whence, steering north-east, it enters Berkshire in the parish of Ashbury.

A short drive through Western Kennet brought the party to Silbury which was soon covered with archæologists, and on their descent Rev. A. C. Smith gave a brief account of its dimensions, declaring it to be the largest artificial tumulus in England, and, so far as he knew, in Europe, with the exception of one or two in Russia. He admitted its origin to be a moot point, but he held to the opinion that it was a burial-place. He described the two previous openings made, the one by the Duke of Northumberland and Colonel Drax, at the close of the last century, by means of a shaft sunk from the top; and the other by the Archæological Institute, in 1849, by means of a tunnel from the base on the southern side, at which he himself was present; and he invited the opinion of the Members of the Association as to the most advisable point in which to tunnel it again, in case (as he hoped) some further investigation should be made at no distant day. He had consulted the owner, Sir John Lubbock, on the subject, and the proposition had been entertained, of opening it on the present occasion, but from unavoidable circumstances, that scheme had been abandoned. Other gentlemen gave their opinions on the probable origin of the mound, and Mr. Brock agreed with Mr. Smith in thinking it sepulchral, but no suggestion was elicited as to the most advisable point from which to drive the next tunnel.

Mr. Smith then conducted the party on foot to the large but imperfect circle of very small stones, which he had opened two years ago. He described how he had been led to suspect its existence from the position of the few sarsens which were above ground; and how he had unearthed twenty-two stones which were buried, and probed the ground in every direction for the discovery of others. He knew of no similar circle in this country, so large in diameter, but composed of such small stones; though such circles, and even squares and triangles, some of very diminutive size, and always of very small stones, were not uncommon on the coasts of Jutland.

Then he called special attention to the position of this large circle, one mile south of Silbury; within sight of Abury, which stood one mile to the north of that tumulus: and within view of the "Sanctuary" on Overton Hill; and he asked whether it was not probable, nay, almost certain, that this circle was connected with these great British antiquities. Mr. WRIGHT thought it would be better that the Members of the Association should not attempt to give any off-hand opinion on this point, which seemed of considerable importance, but which was new to most of them, and which they had not previously considered; and suggested that it might be more profitably discussed at one of the evening meetings at Devizes: at the same time he tendered the hearty thanks of the Association to Mr. Smith, for the information he had given them during the day's excursion; this was seconded by LORD NELSON, and then the carriages were regained, and a straight course made for Devizes.

At the evening meeting, in the Town Hall, a very valuable paper was read by Mr. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., on "The Viking Ship," a relic of ancient days which had recently been found in Norway, supposed to be the burial-place of a sea-king: and at the conclusion of the lecture much interesting discussion ensued; Mr. MYERS, F.S.A., informing the meeting that it was a well-known fact that a similar ship, but not a Viking ship, existed in a barrow at Iona, and Mr. PICTON, F.S.A., pointing out that the position England held as the chief maritime nation of the world was owing in a very great degree to the hardy Norsemen who taught us first how to plough the sea; which the noble President said his great uncle did not forget at the Battle of Copenhagen, when he sent out the notice, "Danes, we are brothers," and to which the poet laureate alluded, when he wrote, in his welcome to the bride of the Prince of Wales:—

> "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we,
> But all of us Danes in our welcome to thee,
> Alexandra."

A cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Brock terminated the proceedings.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19TH.

A large party of archæologists left Devizes by special train for Chippenham, where carriages were in waiting to convey them

by a circuitous route to Malmesbury. *Langley Burrell* Church was the first halting-place, and was hailed by the archæologists as one of the very few which have escaped the hand of the restorer: moreover, it possesses many remarkable features, which were pointed out by Mr. Brock, amongst which the groined roof of the porch, with charming grille to window lighting an upper chamber; and a beautiful gable cross over the east end of the nave, which is open-work and contains a representation of the Crucifixion, were the most distinctive. A very short drive led to *Draycot Cerne* Church, which closely adjoins the Manor House, the residence of Lord Cowley. Mr. Brock called attention to the extreme length of the chancel in proportion to the rest of the building; and also the singular depression of the chancel, to which—contrary to general custom—there was a descent from the nave: this peculiarity—as he had remarked on a previous occasion—was often found in Saxon Churches. But the chief interest of the Church centered in the monuments: on the north side of the chancel the fine fourteenth century founder's tomb, with its numerous mouldings and closely-set crocketting: and on the opposite side the monumental brass, with effigies of Sir Edward Cerne clad in chain mail, who died in 1393, and his second wife; while on the wall above are suspended two ancient bascinets, a pair of gauntlets, a short sword, and a tattered flag. The old font still existed and might be seen beneath the east window of the Church, in the garden of the Manor House, though he regretted to see it was desecrated by being used for garden purposes. *Sutton Benger* Church came next, and called forth much admiration: indeed Mr. Brock remarked that they might make many a journey and find few Churches so full of little points of interest to architects and ecclesiologists: its history might readily be traced from the relics of Norman masonry in the nave, and the Norman font. About 1330 the whole fabric underwent restoration, and a very beautiful result followed. The work was carried on in no spirit of niggardliness and was very beautiful and artistic to the last degree: the windows of the south aisle were filled with flowing tracery, of a better type of the Late Decorated style than is common in the district: while the five-light eastern one was of a florid

reticulated character, and adorned with the ball-flower on the mouldings both within and without. In the central lower panel of this window was, on the inner side, a rich canopy of tabernacle work, once filled with a statue, in all probability of the saint to whom the chantry altar was erected; while the other blank east face of this panel was carved with a fair representation, in miniature, of the window itself, but less depressed in tracery, and with the addition of stiff pinnacles. Unfortunately in the recent restoration of the Church this unique feature has been replaced by a modern and somewhat inaccurate copy, a figure of Our Blessed Lord being erected inside the new canopy; while the original outer panel is placed for the present against the east wall of the aisle. In front of the reading desk, hangs a piece of ancient tapestry, probably part of an altar-cloth, embroidered with rows of kneeling female figures.

The archæologists now proceeded to *Bradenstoke Priory*, which—unlike most monastic buildings—is set on the edge of a steep hill commanding a wide view to the west and north-west. The site is occupied by a farm-house, the dwelling being formed out of the "King's Lodgings,"[1] and the guest-house, a fourteenth century structure, in tolerably perfect condition, the post-Reformation floors and stairs, with which the great hall is cut up, being the weakest points: it lies nearly north and south. The undercroft, now cellarage, has been little tampered with, and is vaulted with quadripartite vaulting, carried on short columns: over this is the great hall, now divided into rooms and additional floors added, but still preserving externally, especially on the west face, its old appearance, the spaces between the buttresses containing a series of unusually long Decorated windows. From the garrets can be explored the open roof, ornamented with ball-flowers, figured in Rickman's "Architecture." In one of the old rooms was a carved and painted stone chimney-piece, crowned by a cornice of foliage and central bracket, recently removed. At the north end of the building is a garderobe turret, approached by

[1] The charter of Henry III. to St. Peter's Gloucester, was dated from Bradenstoke, A.D. 1235, and indicated the presence of the King at the Priory at that date.

a corner staircase. The buttresses of the west wall are connected by a series of semi-circular voussoirs, with plain walling above, and at 15 feet or so from the ground, and quite 18 inches from the wall. These evidently Late Norman remains suggested a puzzle till it was explained by Mr. Brock that the stones had been brought from another portion of the site since 1732. On the hill-slope facing this front, Mr. Brock read a paper on the Priory, in which he introduced his subject by a glance at the distribution of the monastic orders in Wiltshire, which was singularly varied. The Benedictines had but few houses in the county, the Cistercians and Cluniacs but one each, and the obscure Bonhommes and Gilbertines were represented by one and two foundations. The friars of later origin, elsewhere so numerous, the white and grey, had but one each, and the black friars but two, while there were seven alien houses. In Wilts there were six houses of Austin Canons, of which Lacock Nunnery was one, and Bradenstoke the principal and most wealthy. The number of the occupants of Bradenstoke at the Dissolution was the prior and twelve monks (and these seem to have been chiefly aged men), the Abbey of Malmesbury having twenty-two, including the prior and the sub-prior. Search through the old chronicles had given few other facts as to the Priory, except its founding and dissolution. It was established and endowed A.D. 1142, by Walter d' Eureux and de Saresbirie, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and for his soul's health. After the death of his lady, Walter took the religious habit (but did not seem to have become prior), and at his death he was buried by her side. Bradenstoke was the favorite burying place of the founder's family until the establishment of Lacock Nunnery. The Church was said to have stood to the south of the present remains, and in 1851 a pavement of encaustic tiles was found on its site six feet deep. Mr. Brock and Mr. Reynolds then described the architectural features of the building, all except the arcading now set up on the west wall buttresses being ascribed by the former speaker to between 1320 and 1330. The whole of the conventual buildings, with the Church, were placed to the south of the guest-house. An entrenched mound to the north of the house was regarded by some as a barrow or encampment, but Mr. Kerslake and others suggested

it was merely the site of a pleasaunce and a fishpond in the monks' garden. It is most probably that of a Saxon thane's house or castle, of timber-work on the earthen ramparts. In the absence of the owner (Sir Gabriel Goldney, Bart., M.P.) his son, Mr. Prior Goldney, courteously received the company and entertained them with refreshments: he also delighted the archæologists with the assurance that neither his father nor he had any intention to restore the Priory; their only efforts would be to preserve it.

Re-joining the carriages at the foot of Bradenstoke Hill at Dauntsey, the party now had a long drive to Malmesbury, where they were most sumptuously entertained at luncheon by Mr. Walter Powell, M.P., and presided over by their host. Mr. Wright, in the absence of the President, tendered the thanks of the Association to their kind entertainer, and Mr. Powell, in reply, commended the ancient Abbey to their careful examination, which magnificent structure (the historian told them) once covered, with its surroundings, no less than five-and-forty acres of ground, and rivalled in architectural beauty the nave of Winchester, the choir of York, the spire of Salisbury, and the majestic towers of Lincoln. Mr. Brock also gave expression to the gratitude of the Association to Sir Gabriel Goldney, for his hospitality at Bradenstoke, which was acknowledged by Mr. F. Goldney.

The Market Cross was first visited. It is a Late Perpendicular structure, very similar to those at Salisbury and Chichester, and is a stone canopy borne upon eight pillars. A deeply-moulded flying buttress rises from each pier, clear of the richly-groined roof, the light ribs being drawn into a cluster by a wide string-band supporting a large pinnacle and ogee finial. This pinnacle bears traces of sculptured figures, and—on the west face—of a crucifix: but the faces of the work are much abraded by the weather, and perhaps rough treatment, for most of the bosses have been broken from the groined vault. It was erected for the shelter of the market-folk in 1490. Passing through a large stone archway into the churchyard, the grand south *façade* of the Abbey Church was seen in all its beauty. Of the original cruciform structure—once, like Ely, adorned by a lofty central spire, and another at the west end—but two-thirds,

the eastern portion of nave and a magnificent south porch, remain. The south front shows a transitional Norman shell, with a clerestory and most of the aisle lights filled with Decorated windows, with large flying buttresses and pinnacles. A flowing pierced parapet is carried above the clerestory, the aisle and porch. The roof is a modern one, of slates, resting on deal timbers of poor scantling set upon a fourteenth century stone vaulting. East and west are ragged fragments of the former extensions. The south porch is the richest feature: it is Transitional, of eight deep orders, of which three are filled with sculptured groups, and the others with interlaced ornaments. The inner doorway is almost equally rich, and in the tympanum and on the walls are *bas-reliefs* of the "Majesty," and the "Apostles." The interior forms a noble Church, wherein massive cylindrical piers, with scalloped capitals, and a large triforium, all of Transitional character, lead up to a large Decorated clerestory and a groined roof of the same period. The aisles retain their Norman groining and a few Norman windows, and have Perpendicular screens at the eastern ends. Mr. George Patrick read some historical notes on the Abbey, and conducted the visitors over it. He said that no traces of the Saxon Abbey could be found, and it was probably of wood. The earliest record of its foundation was about A.D. 680 when it was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, but subsequently it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Aldhelm. Britton, in his "Antiquities," refers to a deed of Malmesbury of the time of King Edgar, in which allusion is made to the generally ruined and deserted condition of the buildings; but such a deed cannot now be found. The arches and existing remains are not of prior date to 1160 or 1170. Porches were not common in the Transititon style of that period, and the south porch before them was almost unique for its exceeding richness and magnificence of ornament; the subjects of the sculptures were taken from the Old and New Testaments. This porch was enlarged in the Decorated period by the addition of an outer casing to the walls. The windows of the clerestory were altered to the Decorated style about 1350—60, and no traces of Norman work exist internally above the level of the triforium excepting the great arches of the

central tower. The pinnacles and the flying buttresses were of the fourteenth century. The door on the north side leading to the cloisters was Norman, but had had another inserted within it in the fourteenth century; and to the latter period might be referred the north aisle windows and the lofty west window. Within the Abbey, attention was called to the contrast between the twelfth and fourteenth century work, to the excellence of tracery in the eastern screens to aisles, to the quadripartite vaulting, and to the Perpendicular watching-chamber projecting from one of the triforium arches on the south side. Both the grand towers had fallen; that at the intersection of transepts, which probably contained the large peal of bells, and which fell in the reign of Henry VIII., and a second, chiefly of fourteenth century character, which came down in the reign of Charles II. Mr. Brock said the history of these towers was a warning to ambitious people; their ruin was evidently due to successive additions to their height and the building of lofty spires, first on the central and then on the western steeples, whereas the existing remains showed that no attempt was made to strengthen the foundations. The central tower was one of an unusual class, broader on the east and west faces than on those north and south: a glance at the remaining north-east fragment would show that instead of attempting pointed arches on the narrower transept side, as in the similar example at St. John's, Devizes, the circular arches were brought to equal height as that of the nave by "stilting" them. On this weak erection once stood one of the highest spires in England, and in it a heavy peal of bells was hung. A question having arisen as to the purpose of a peculiar series of large circular medallions or rosettes of flat ornament between the clerestory windows on the eastern portions, Mr. Ewan Christian said they indicated that a Norman clerestory was at least commenced, and replaced in the fourteenth century by the present rather poor windows, proving his point by showing that one or two of these rosettes formed springers of semi-circular arches. Mr. John Reynolds explained the situation of the conventual buildings, which have entirely disappeared, the site being a piece of pasture and a private garden: he also showed that a plain unpierced wall, with deep string-course above the nave, was

clear evidence of the south walk of the cloisters. There were two entrances into the nave, both of which are distinctly marked, although now walled up. On the return east side next the north transept was the chapter-house, and next to it the day-room, overhead being the dormitory, which had a doorway into Church, for the use of the monks who had the night services to perform. On the north side was the refectory, and on the west a second day-room for lay-brethren or students, but its exact use was disputed. The archæologists were next conducted to Dr. Jennings' residence, "Abbey House," built in the sixteenth century, on the site of some of the conventual buildings. What are now the cellars are a series of vaulted chambers, with Decorated window tracery and groining, corresponding with the great works of re-building in the Abbey Church. The windows are, as Mr. CHRISTIAN showed, deeply splayed inside on a curve, the surface being rendered to a true face in cement. The columns are almost buried in *débris*, but excavations show them to be nine feet from base to capital. A central range has been destroyed. The similarity of the work to Bradenstoke is very marked. Various opinions were given as to its object, but it was generally thought to have formed the great hall of the abbot's house, and at that time was, of course, above ground. In the upper part of the house is much good seventeenth-century panelling and carved oak furniture, including a large Jacobean four-post bedstead, richly treated in Classic style, but having as a foot-board a pierced under-cut panel, French Flamboyant in style, and bearing upon it the arms of France impaling those of Brittany and the dolphin—the well-known badge of the Dauphins—which (as Mr. ELLIOT showed) indicated that this fragment of carving was originally worked for Charles VII., of France, who married the heiress of the Dukes of Brittany. The staircase to the upper part of the house is of solid block oak with solid oak newel.

Dr. JENNINGS conducted the Members over the eastern limb of the Abbey Church, which he has inclosed, and had excavated a few years since, when he found nothing but the concrete foundations of the choir and transepts, and the square flue, with soot still in it, running along the north side, by which the building was warmed.

This concluded the visit to Malmesbury, which will not soon be forgotten by the archæologists. A drive by direct road to Chippenham, and thence the special train brought them back to Devizes.

At the evening meeting Mr. Thomas Morgan, F.S.A., read a very learned paper on the "Gewissens in Wiltshire," or "Westerners." He had traced at the last Congress the East Angles in Norfolk and Suffolk, now he wished to speak of the Westerners. The term seemed to have been used in opposition to the "Easterlings," just as on the Continent the Eastern Goths were opposed to the Visigoths, or Western Goths. At the conclusion of his paper the subject was discussed by Mr. Kerslake and Mr. Swayne. Then Dr. Phené, F.S.A., F.G.S., read a most important paper on "Existing Analogues to Stonehenge and Abury," asserting that he had discovered in the Balearic Islands, in the Mediterranean, examples of the mortise and tenon system of Stonehenge in structures which assume "the precise condition of the more vast portion of Stonehenge," and he claimed a Roman origin for these structures, suggesting that the Romans thus honoured the existing temples of the nations they conquered, by augmenting them after this fashion. The subject was discussed by Lord Nelson, Mr. Cunnington, Mr. Myers, and Mr. Picton, but it is hoped Dr. Phené's paper will soon be printed for the careful consideration of archæologists. A hearty vote of thanks from the President to the authors of the two very interesting papers they had heard concluded the evening meeting.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20th.

This was a very long day's excursion, comprising a drive of forty miles through the valley of the Avon to Amesbury and Stonehenge and back to Devizes over Salisbury Plain. The first halting-place was at Enford, where The Vicar (Rev. C. F. Cooke) met the party at the Church and pointed out some of its most interesting features. The building was altered to its present condition after the crushing of the nave by the fall of the spire in 1817. It has a range of blank arcading of slender lancets, on the north side of the chancel, and opening out of this a low octagonal chamber now used as a vestry, and having in the angles four ambries, in which hooks

still remain. This adjunct, which has been a crux to local antiquaries, was pronounced by Mr. Brock to be the base of a proposed north-east thirteenth century tower, and utilized from early times as a sacristy.

The Church of Netheravon was next visited. It has a remarkable west portal, of very rude and early character. Two pilasters, with cushioned caps roughly sculptured, the one with a lion, the other with an ape, or some other quadruped, carry a plain circular soffit and arch of great depth; the north and south sides of this stage of tower are panelled with flint and stone, and have small Norman doorways, now walled up. The internal arch is of like character, and also has wide joints; the nave has late Transitional piers and arcades. Mr. Brock suggested that this west doorway was once internal, and formed the chancel arch of the central tower of an aisleless Church, apparently of the latter portion of the eleventh century, an opinion in which Mr. Picton coincided.

The drive was then continued to Amesbury, where the party was reinforced by about eighty of the Newbury Field Club, under the guidance of Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., Professor Rupert Jones, and others. The united party then proceeded to the Church, where they were met by The Vicar (Rev. A. W. Phelps), at whose request Mr. Brock described the principal architectural features of the edifice. It is a large cruciform structure, with low square central tower, from which a spire appears to have been demolished. The walls of the nave are Norman, with inserted windows, but the other limbs were re-built and enlarged in the thirteenth century. The upper part of the tower is considerably later, and Decorated windows are inserted into the chancel between the lancets. The roof of the nave is a good example of hammer-beam construction, with ornamental tie-beams and braces. There is a late south aisle, and opening from the north transept is a chantry chapel, with an excellent two-light window in east gable, divided by a shaft with foliage cap of about 1240. Mr. Brock gave an account of Amesbury Priory, founded in 880 by Queen Elfrida, as a Benedictine nunnery, and which grew to be one of great magnificence. At the Suppression of Monasteries almost all the conventual buildings were destroyed. It seemed clear that the proportions more resembled a conventual than a parish

Church, and on the north wall is a corbel-table marking the old cloister roof and the walled-up doorways, while at the east end were traces of other buildings having existed against the north transept. There are, however, documentary evidences that the conventual Church was destroyed. Could its destruction have been averted? Some discussion took place as to the want of symmetry in plan. The chancel leans to the north, and the west wall of the nave is set askew, but no satisfactory explanation was offered, instances of leaning, both to north and south, being mentioned, and in reply to the theory that the inclination indicated the rising of the sun on the day of founding, Mr. Brock said an inexplicable fact was, that in no case known to him where the day of founding was known did the inclined axis exactly correspond with the sun's position.

After luncheon at the school-room, the visitors walked through the park, by the site of the nunnery to the earthworks known as "Vespasian's Camp," of which Professor Rupert Jones gave an interesting account. These ramparts follow the contour of a hill-side overlooking the Avon, and are on plan an elliptic curve, with closed end, containing an area of 39 acres, and commanding the river and opposite bank: they are formed by a vallum with outer ditch, but are much obscured and broken by the planting of trees and the formation of pleasure-grounds upon them. Lord Nelson pointed out the resemblance to Bratton Camp, allowing for the existence of a river here, and suggested a common origin. Mr. Brock said these earthworks had been much misunderstood. This camp was certainly used by the Romans, as a few of their coins found on the site proved, but here and elsewhere they simply utilized works already existing, formed by the Britons, not as mere military stations, nor yet burial places, but as *oppida,* lines of defence on the hill-tops, within which they erected their wigwams of branches or dug out pits, and folded their cattle at night. They followed every contour of the ground in their trenches and banks, and where a river was not at hand, probably got water as the shepherds on the downs did now, by puddled "dew ponds," wherein the rainfall was stored.

The Members then proceeded to Stonehenge, the whole area of which was literally crowded with archæologists. Standing upon a

fallen stone, which served as a rostrum to the successive speakers, Lord Nelson pleaded for the conservation of Stonehenge, by setting upright a now prostrate trilithon on the western side, which was known to have fallen in 1797, and by pushing back and securing one of the two large single stones of the inner ellipse, which now leans threateningly upon an inner obelisk, and must, if not attended to, fall within a short time. The exact position and appearance of the fallen trilithon are known, and the restoration could be effected without risk by present mechanical appliances. Mr. Cunnington then gave a general description of the various circles and ellipses, every stone having been previously lettered in chalk by the speaker to facilitate identification. The largest stones, he explained, were "sarsens," remains of a bed of sand which, ages since, was deposited above the chalk. They were formed by the agglutinizing of some particles into silicious sandstones, and were left exposed on the surface when the looser portions were washed away. These sarsens were found abundantly in some of the valleys on the Marlborough Downs. The obelisks were considerably smaller, and were of two varieties of stone, one a hornstone and the other "diabase" (the former scarcely an accurate term), both igneous rocks, but neither of which could be found in England or Wales. These were all grey, or of various shades of green and black. The middle or altar-stone was grey, and was a micaceous sandsone, *possibly* derived from the coal-measures in the neighbourhood of Frome. In the construction of this building—whatever its purpose—a high mechanical knowledge and very great skill were displayed, the more surprising since it was probably done without the use of iron tools. Constructive ability was shown not alone in the transport and setting up of these huge stones, but in the system of mortise and tenon and "joggle tenon" employed to secure the transverse slabs.

Mr. Morgan, F.S.A., read a paper on the etymology of the name, which had been conjecturally derived from Hengist, hanging, or suspended, stones, and stones of hanging, or gibbets. He favoured the opinion of Sir John Lubbock, that it was derived from the Saxon *Stane-ing* or field of stones; and nothing could be more appropriate, standing as it did in the midst of an acropolis of some three hundred

barrows. As to its object, it neither resembled a cromlech, temple, nor place of worship, but partook of the characteristics of all these: he however was disposed to believe that it was intended for sun-worship.

Professor Rupert Jones, F.R.S., read a paper, written by Mr. T. Claxton Fidler, M.I.C.E., of Cork, on the astronomical theories as to Stonehenge. The author detailed trigonometrical co-ordinate surveys and mathematical calculations made by himself and two other engineers, during a week spent at Stonehenge, and stated that the result, after allowing corrections for the apparent, as distinguished from the true, horizon and position of sun, and also for the cyclical change in the obliquity of the ellipse, proved that the Friar's Heel is so situated, and the axis and centre of the building are so arranged, as to mark the rising of the sun at the summer solstice. The priest at the altar, situated in the apsidal end of the horseshoe, or a worshipper in the centre of the circle, would see the sun rising out of the Friar's Heel stone. As this arrangement, if a mere coincidence, had a range of probabilities of 1400 to 1 against the Friar's Heel being pitched within the earthworks within a semi-diameter of the correct position, the theory that Stonehenge was a temple for sun-worship, was, in the author's opinion, established by the result of his observations. In this theory Professor Rupert Jones concurred, and in introducing Mr. Fidler's paper on the astronomical value of the stone called the "Friar's Heel," [1] he offered some observations on the approximate coincidence of the number of the stones of the several circles with the divisions of time in the year and smaller seasonal or diurnal periods. He also reasoned on the probability of the structure having been a place of sanctity (in all likelihood devoted to solar worship) whether its sanctity were derived from ancestor-worship, or from having burials accumulated in and about it, as we make our Churches our mausolea.

Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., followed with a paper, referring in his introductory remarks to his explorations of Wiltshire barrows, in conjunction with Canon Greenwell. He had very little doubt that Stonehenge belonged to the Bronze Age, a view in which he

[1] Professor Rupert Jones adds, "I have no moral doubt that the 'Friar's Heel' is a corruption of *some old British term* of the stone and its use."

believed Sir John Lubbock concurred. He thought it very similar in character to the temples frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, consisting of uncovered pillars erected in the open air. Stones were the simplest materials, and circles the simplest form in which to arrange them; and these circles were the memorials of great events, the meeting-places of armies, the burial-places of chieftains, and were regarded as sacred spots. The stones here were arranged exactly as those described by the Jews. Its appearance proclaimed the antiquity of Stonehenge, but its magnitude and grandeur declared that the people who first raised the ponderous blocks of stone of which it was composed were not so rude and un-educated as had been asserted.

Mr. Myers, F.S.A., urged the higher antiquity of Abury over Stonehenge, from its greater rudeness. Stonehenge could not have been, as Mr. Morgan suggested, a group of unearthed cromlechs: none of those in Brittany, Cornwall, or Ireland had any approximation to this: neither could it be compared in any way to Baalbec,[1] which was one of the most beautiful and refined examples of classic work, and far surpassed anything in Rome.

Professor Rupert Jones, Lord Nelson, and others having discussed the possible derivation of the name—as to which it appeared that no theory found acceptance by any other than the propounder—Mr. J. A. Picton, F.S.A., said the coincidence between the position of the Friar's Heel and the altar-stone, and the position of the sun at the summer solstice was so marked that it might be taken as an accepted theory that the object of this erection was sun-worship. He would try to deal with Stonehenge without any pre-conceived theory, and discarding all traditions, would simply examine the facts. He saw before him certain phenomena and facts, and asked to what inference did they lead? Before him were parts of two

[1] It should, however, be recollected that the comparison with Baalbec has no reference to the richly-ornamented temples, which were erected in a later age; but to the huge foundation-stones, probably of Phœnician workmanship, of which the architects of those highly-finished temples availed themselves, and which are the largest stones known in the world, as shaped by masons, and moved into position. The weight of each of them is calculated to be above 900 tons! and besides these the stones of Stonehenge appear of insignificant proportions, as not one of them exceeds 60 tons. See *Magazine*, vol. x., p. 58. [Ed.]

circles of small, irregular, round, unhewn stones, and between and outside these, other circles or parts of circles of tooled stones, squared, and provided, some with mortise-holes and others with tenons. Was it not probable that the unhewn stones were the older of the two series? Elsewhere they found cromlechs and monoliths, with no history attached to them, at most a vague tradition that they were erected before the use of tools was known. At Avebury they had traces of circles of rude, large, unhewn stones: here, at Stonehenge, were small stones of this class associated with large wrought ones. How and when were these stones wrought? They must be posterior to unhewn stones, and the latter must be attributed to a period before the Roman invasion: he defied anyone to produce evidence of the existence of hewn stone before or at the time of the Roman conquest. But these monuments could not have been so late as the Saxon conquest, for the chroniclers would have described their erection, whereas they were silent. Inigo Jones' hypothesis that Stonehenge was a Roman work had been received with ridicule, and he was probably wrong in attributing it to such a polished and cultured people as the Romans, but he might have heen correct had he regarded it as a last expiring effort of the partially-civilized heathen devotees of the ancient religion to assert their faith. As to *how* the stones were wrought, it had been surmised that flint implements were used, but it was quite impossible that such hard sandstones could have been cut with flints. Bronze tools may have been employed, for it is almost certain that the magnificent works of the Egyptians were executed with bronze implements. Even the Romans had scarcely adopted the use of iron before the first Punic War. The hewn circles were constructed with what are called *sarsen* stones, that is, stones not quarried but found in superficial deposits. The facts as they stand would certainly lead to the inference that the hewn and unhewn circles are of different periods, the latter entirely pre-historic, the former of the early Romano-British period.

Mr. Cunnington replied, stating that, elaborate as the calculations quoted by Professor Jones might be, between the altar-stone and the Friar's Heel was a recumbent block now known as the "Slaughtering Stone," but which, as his grandfather had proved,

formerly stood upright. If it was erect, it would completely hide the view of the Friar's Heel from the altar, and thus would altogether dispose of this ingenious theory.

Professor Rupert Jones, however, submitted that the intermediate stone—which may once have stood upright, and then interrupted the view of the sun on the special hour on the Friar's Heel—might have been intended as an obstruction by an opposing sect, whether it was ever set up or not.

Mr. Broçk, in opposition to Mr. Picton and others, reasoned that the hewn stones were not subsequent in erection to the obelisks, for the scaffolding or inclined planes of earth used to erect the cross-beams on the large stones would have displaced or buried the shorter stones. The work—he thought—must be regarded as a whole.

Mr. Edwards, of Amesbury, said that over one of the detached stones near the outer trench the sun could be seen at setting on the shortest day: but it appeared there was no proof that a stone ever existed on the raised place indicated from which to take observations.

After a perambulation of the enclosure, the parties separated, the Members of the Association returning to Devizes by the direct road across the Plain, and by Redhorn.

At the evening meeting Mr. J. T. Burgess read a very interesting paper on "Devizes Castle," which, by the courtesy of the author, will be found in this *Magazine*. At its conclusion, the President thanked Mr. Burgess for his very full account of the Castle, and more particularly his explanatory references to other earthworks, and said that the matter thus brought before them by a gentleman so well acquainted with old castles and earthworks, could not but form a most valuable addition to any future history of the place. He concurred with Mr. Burgess that the old entrance was probably by Castle Lane, and that opinion coincided with the lines laid down by Leland. He had himself walked the previous day by a green lane, where the boundary of the Old Park estate was marked by a very broad and deep ditch, and he believed that ground had always been granted along with the castle, as a dowry, in olden times, to the Queens of England. In reply to Mr. Burgess's enquiry where the fish-pond and mill belonging to the castle were situated, Mr.

Cunnington said he was strongly of opinion, and had been for many years, that the valley below was dammed across, and probably sufficient water was retained to keep up the supply of fish. Certainly there was more than a morass there, and it must have been a sheet of water of some size. When the railway was being constructed, and the foundations of the bridge were being dug out, the ground at the depth of three or four feet was just of the nature of the soil that would be found at the bottom of a lake or pond; and contained, what to his mind was conclusive, namely, fresh-water shells, such as were now found in great abundance in Drew's pond. His impression was that this sheet of water might have been as large as Drew's Pond. There might have been a windmill on the castle mound at the time the place was occupied as a castle. It was certain that during the past century two windmills stood there which were used for grinding snuff.

Mr. Brock said an old plan of the borough showed, some way down the valley following the lines of the ancient water-course, a small quadrangular enclosure, surrounded by water, which would answer extremely well to the site of a mill, and if they supposed that above this there was an embankment, as Mr. Cunnington suggested, they would get motive power sufficient for the mill, and enhance the beauty of the castle generally. He was glad that Mr. Burgess and himself were both agreed as to the building which many people had supposed to be the keep: they agreed pretty nearly as to the site. As to the shape of it they differed: he could not think it was square, but round or octagonal or some other form, but not square. It was misleading to lay down a hard and fast line that all Norman keeps were quadrangular, for such was by no means the case.

The Rev. A. C. Smith then brought forward the subject of the stone circle south of Silbury, which had been deferred for discussion to this evening, and he invited the opinion of Members of the Association as to the probable object and intention of that circle. Since he had had the honour of conducting the Members to it on Wednesday, he had been informed by Mr. Cunnington that Stukeley mentioned "an oblong work of stones" as having stood on that spot,

and as having been then recently demolished. He had since turned to the passage, and though he found the dimensions there given differed very much from those of the circle he had uncovered, being put at 350 instead of 261 feet, yet the position was so accurately defined, as "upon the heath south of Silbury," that it was scarcely possible it could have referred to any other circle. He would then hail Dr. Stukeley as a witness to what he believed was generally accepted by all who had visited the spot, but what may now be considered a positive certainty, that the circle in question was not natural, but placed there by the hand of man, though it had been demolished and the foundations buried one hundred and fifty years ago, and forgotten until he discovered and unearthed it two years since. Then came the question, for what object was it placed there? Calling to mind its very commanding position, with Silbury full in sight, and with Abury also visible, to the north, almost immediately behind Silbury; and with the termination of the Kennet avenue, the "Sanctuary" on Overton Hill, also in full view, it was scarcely conceivable but that it was in some way connected with those monuments. He however would be glad to hear the opinion of others on that point.

Mr. Morgan said the diameter—261 feet—was a very large one, too large to make it in any degree probable that it could have had a sepulchral origin. Possibly it might have had some reference to assemblies of some kind in connection with the large circle at Abury.

Mr. Brock suggested that the question should be studied on paper, by means of a map on a large scale, showing the exact relative positions of these several relics of antiquity. They would then be in a better position to consider their probable bearing on one another.

And the President terminated the discussion by saying that the Members would hardly like to commit themselves to an off-hand opinion on a fresh discovery of this kind: though it might hereafter turn out to be a most interesting discovery in helping to form a theory as to the use of Silbury and Abury.

Some drawings of cromlechs and other remarkable stones, by Mrs. Colfox, of Bridport, were then exhibited by Mr. Brock.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21ST.

A very interesting excursion to Bowood and Lacock tempted an increased number of archæologists to avail themselves of the opportunity of visiting those charming seats. The first stopping-place was at Bromham, where the RECTOR (Rev. E. B. Edgell) conducted the party over the Church, and described the wretched state in which he found it on his coming to the incumbency—the late Rector, who held the living for sixty-five years, having been an absentee. It has a fine central tower and spire, and an Early English chancel, and was restored a few years since by Messrs. Carpenter and Slater. The plan of it is unusual and disproportionate, occasioned by the addition, in the fifteenth century, of a large aisle, transept and chantry, to the south of what was not a cruciform Church. This chantry forms a chancel aisle, and is a gem of Late Perpendicular work: it was built by Richard Beauchamp, Lord St. Armand, and has an embattled parapet enriched with panelling and an eastern canopy, a flat panelled roof, painted and gilt with heraldic devices, and, happily, untouched by the restorer's brush. In the centre stands an altar-tomb (to Sir R. Tocotes, who died about 1492,) made of Purbeck marble, with recumbent effigy of alabaster. There are also canopied tombs and monuments to the families of the Beauchamps and Bayntons, having an unusual wealth of enamelled brasses, and on the wall are three undertaker's helmets of the sixteenth century. No little interest was shown in the tomb of the poet Moore, who, for the last twenty years of his life, occupied Sloperton Cottage in this parish, and to whose memory the west window was only last year filled with stained glass. In a field near the village some remains of a Roman villa were visited, and described by Mr. G. R. WRIGHT and Mr. W. CUNNINGTON. The portions uncovered consist of parts of two tesselated pavements, adjoining one another, though slightly differing in level, the more elaborate one having a guilloche pattern executed in black, brown, grey, and red tesseræ of chalk and clay, and close by are traces of a hypocaust.

There was nothing to be seen at Wans, the site of the Roman station *Verlucio*, except another portion of the Roman road running from Bath to Marlborough, the same road which, on a previous day,

had caused so much discussion as to the point where it approaches Silbury. Thence a pretty drive through the park to Bowood House, which had been thrown open by the courtesy of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The principal front, which faces south, has a large portico, carried by ten Doric columns, and in the pediment are sculptured the family arms. To the left has been added a long wing, the elevation imitated, after the fashion of the last century, from a portion of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro. The entrance hall is paved with tesselated marble, and contains statuary and two large frescoes, representing scenes in the Trojan war. A grand staircase leads to the principal suite of apartments, wherein a couple of hours were well spent in examining the paintings, sculpture, and china.

On leaving Bowood luncheon at the "Lansdowne Arms," Derry Hill, was the next object; and then the party proceeded towards Lacock, halting on the road to see the Tudor gate-house at Spye Park, which once formed part of Bromham Hall; and again on the declivity of Bowden Hill, to examine the vaulted conduit-house, which supplies Lacock Abbey with water, and here a difference of opinion arose as to its probable date. Mr. Wright, who quoted a letter from Mr. Talbot, stated that it was a structure of the time of Edward VI., an assertion to which Mr. Brock could not at all agree. Mr. Christian considered it a most beautiful work, noticing especially the stone roof, the slabs overlying, and moulded at the overlap, and confidently attributed it to the fourteenth century.[1] He also pointed out the ribbed vaulting beneath the roof and the doorway, which had been introduced in the seventeenth century. Mr. Picton detected features in this structure resembling in a striking manner some that were to be seen in Rosslyn Chapel.

Note.—In connection with this subject the following letter, which appeared in the columns of the *Devizes Gazette,* is here reproduced *in extenso* :—

[1] Mr. Talbot remarks on the above, "But both Mr. Brock and Mr. Christian modified their first views before they left the place, the latter gentleman coming to the conclusion that the whole was put together at one time, but with the incorporation of older material. Even this modified view however, I am convinced, cannot be maintained."

"*To the Editor of the Devizes Gazette.*

"Sir,—I observe, by your report of the proceedings of the British Archæological Association, on the 21st, that my suggestion that the Conduit House on Bowden Hill was probably erected in the reign of Edward VI. was generally taken exception to. I am, glad, therefore, that I did furnish Mr. Wright with that suggestion, or, apparently, the building would have been, *without question,* set down by the authorities there present to a wrong date, very much earlier than the true one. I wish, indeed, they could prove their case. I should be delighted to find that I have there, really, the Conduit House of the nuns and not merely its successor, a mediæval and not a Renaissance building. But I cannot see a chance of such a happy subversion of my present opinion. Mr. Christian is reported as having assigned "the stone roof, the slabs overlying and moulded at the overlap," and, I presume, the transverse arch ribs which support it, *without doubt,* to the fourteenth century, and to have divorced the doorway from the rest of the work, and treated it as an insertion of the seventeenth century, *later* than its real date. Now, I venture to say that not one of these gentlemen, who are skilled architectural critics, would adhere to his opinion, if he had an opportunity of thoroughly examining the other architectural remains of this place. There is no part of this little building which does not, to my mind, proclaim it the work of Sir William Sherington. The plinth, or base moulding of the walls, the doorway and the tabling of the roof, are all to be matched in his work at the Abbey. The arched ribs, which support the roof, have a plain circular section, and such a section might be found in fourteenth century work, but they have not the look of fourteenth century work. On the other hand, the vaulted ceiling of the lowest room in the tower at the Abbey, which is entirely the work of Sherington, has ribs of a plain circular section. The projecting mouldings on the stones of the roof, which overlap the joints, may be observed in the tabling of Sherington's buttresses and chimneys at the Abbey. Over the doorway, and also on the east wall, there are the remains of some elaborate Renaissance ornament, very much worn by the weather. When I was examining the building, one

day, in a favourable light, some years ago, I detected the arms of Sherington over the doorway, but I should not have recognised them if I had not been familiar with them. Shortly after that, I obtained a copy of Dingley's 'History from Marble,' in which he has given a sketch of the arms of Sir William Sherington, impaled with those of his third wife, Grace Faringdon (three unicorns, passant) as being then in glass at the Abbey, and he says the very same are cut in stone over the door of the Conduit on Bowden Hill. This was in 1684. The glass is now gone, but I have specimens of the same arms on tiles. It may be further remarked that Sherington's buildings are of particularly solid and beautiful construction, and, in some respects, very similar to mediæval work. Indeed, a friend of mine, an architect, on seeing a pair of octagonal chimneys, at the Abbey, could not at first believe that they were not part of the monastic building, but erected after the dissolution. I consider, then, that Sherington *re-built* the Conduit House of the nuns, for we know that they drew their water-supply from Bowden Hill, from a very early date, and, if so, it follows that the building cannot be earlier than 1540, nor later than 1566. Conceiving that Sherington would hardly be able to erect it in the reign of Henry VIII., I suggested that it was probably built in the reign of Edward VI., but it may *possibly* be later. After writing so much of my letter, I have re-examined the Conduit House carefully to-day. I have no hesitation, whatever, in maintaining my previously-expressed opinion, and will undertake to prove it to anyone who will take the trouble of going into the evidence. The transverse arches which support the roof, five in number, are all constructed with large key-stones. If they had been of the fourteenth century they would probably have been constructed with centre joints.

"Had I been able to accompany the members of the Association when they visited the Churches of Devizes, I should have called attention to a fact which does not appear to have been noticed,[1] viz., that the tower of St. John's Church has been partly re-built. This is not apparent on the outside of the building, but on the inside the

[1] Mr. Talbot subsequently writes, "Mr. Brock has informed me in a letter that he did call attention on the spot to some of the evidences of such re-building."

intersecting arcade which originally was carried round the walls of the lantern is omitted in those portions which have been re-built. Also, in those Norman windows which have been re-built with the original stones, regard has been paid to appearances externally, but not internally. In the interior, stones carved with ornamental details, which do not correspond, are placed in juxta-position, and the conclusion follows that, at the period when this partial re-building of the tower walls took place (not improbably in the fifteenth century) the Norman lantern was no longer intended to be left open to the Church. If it were now to be re-opened, by the removal of the intervening floor, the alteration would be the reverse of an improvement, though we may well regret that the original arrangement has not come down to our time. The use of a more lofty and intricate intersecting arcade on the east wall of the lantern than on its other walls is a very curious and interesting but not a very beautiful treatment. It was suggested to me, some time ago, with great probability, by Mr. Kite, that there was probably a similar treatment of the east end of the chancel, and that the present arcade on the east wall is, therefore, incorrect, if regarded as a restoration.

"Your obedient Servant,

"C. H. Talbot."

"*Lacock Abbey, August 27th,* 1880."

Rejoining the carriages at the foot of the hill, a short drive brought the visitors to Bewley Court, a good example of a small dwelling house of the fifteenth century, with mullioned and cusped windows, four-centred porchway, the remains of an open roof, and much panelling. And then through the village of Lacock, which is full of houses dating from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, with pent-roof porches, grey-tiled roofs, and here and there four-centred doorways and windows; and by the village cross, a Late Perpendicular structure, which, not long since, has been carefully re-erected by Mr. Talbot of the stones preserved in the Abbey, in accordance with a section and elevation drawn by Carter.

Arrived at Lacock Abbey, the visitors were received by Mr. Talbot, who at once conducted them round that magnificent relic of

monastic times, and described the principal architectural features. He remarked that the oldest portion of the structure had been built in the reign of Henry III., the Abbey having been founded by Ela, Countess of Salisbury in her own right, for Canonesses of St. Augustine: the foundation stone was laid in 1232, and eight years after the foundress became the first abbess. Mr. Talbot pointed out the many alterations and changes which were effected by Sir William Sherington, who purchased the property in 1540 or 1541, and converted it into a manor-house; and by whom much of the old nunnery buildings, as the cloisters, the refectory, the dormitory, the sacristy, and the chapter-house, were retained with only such alterations as were necessary to fit them for their altered use. It is needless to recapitulate here the details of Mr. Talbot's very lucid explanation of the various parts of his most interesting Abbey, for they are already published in a former volume of the *Magazine*[1]: both exterior and interior were inspected by very appreciative visitors, and amongst the many art treasures which the house contained, perhaps the most interesting were the very early Calotypes, or Talbotypes, the photographic process invented by the father of the present owner of the Abbey. It was here, indeed, that Mr. Fox Talbot worked out his experiments which resulted in the art of which photography was the present development: so that this was really the birth-place and the cradle of photography. There were also exhibited specimens of a process of photo-engraving, of great capabilities, invented by Mr. Fox Talbot and called by him Photoglyphic engraving; the finest specimens of which are dated 1866.

After partaking of refreshments which had been hospitably prepared in the great hall, the PRESIDENT begged, in the name of the Association, to thank Mr. Talbot for his very great kindness in explaining so clearly the beauties and the antiquities of his noble mansion. They would remember that in his opening address he had assured them they would have a rich treat in visiting Lacock Abbey, and he was extremely glad to find that the worthy owner had studied its history so closely, and had taken such great care of

[1] Vol. xii., pp. 221—233. "On the Existing Structure of Lacock Abbey," by C. H. Talbot, Esq.

it. In passing through the village they had seen the cross which he had restored, and also so much of interest in the houses—for almost every building in the village had something about it worthy of examination—that it was to be regretted they had not been able to spend the whole day there. They could not have been received more handsomely than they had been by Mr. Talbot, who had so liberally provided for their bodily necessities as well as for their mental improvement.

On departing from Lacock Abbey, which was done with much regret, the members visited, under Mr. Talbot's guidance, a large fourteenth-century barn: the structure was very plain, but unusually irregular in plan, the timbers of each bay being of different height and framing. They also visited the parish Church of St. Cyriac. To the north of the chancel is the vaulted Talbot Chapel, originally a Lady Chapel, of about the time of Henry VII. The Church plate attracted considerable attention, and Mr. Lambert said that old Church plate was fast disappearing from our Churches, for new fashions and new shapes were usurping the place of older and better patterns. In his hand he held a *ciborium* of the ancient faith: he knew of nothing like it, and if he were to place a date upon it, he should say it was about the date of Henry VI.; but a *ciborium* it was, most certainly.

From Lacock the members drove by the shortest route back to Devizes.

At the evening meeting, which was the closing assembly of the Congress, and at which the members were hospitably entertained by the Mayor; the Borough Maces and Regalia were first examined by Mr. G. Lambert, F.S.A. He said maces were really most ancient weapons of warfare, which were used by ecclesiastics in their quarrels. There had been *very very* fighting bishops, and ecclesiastics by virtue of their office, being forbidden to shed blood, used maces in preference to the sword. Maces had always been considered to represent authority, and they found that in the very earliest times a staff of office of one kind or other was invariably borne by the leading patriarch of every tribe, no matter what tribe he belonged to. A stick, a shepherd's crook, or anything of that kind, indicated authority. They found mention of a staff of office in

Homer; and in the Bible; and the staff was used at all times, so to speak, as a standard or rallying point. The maces then were not exactly of the pattern of those they saw before them, and they only assumed that form after the Restoration of King Charles the Second. The earliest mace, he believed, was to be found at the little town of Hedon, and there was also a very early one at Tenterden, in Kent. Maces originally were not crowned, but were sometimes used as cups. One of the maces before him was in very good condition, and was bolder than the earlier maces, for as corporations became more and more loyal, after the Restoration, they increased the size of the crowns, until they developed into the bold maces of the time of George the Third. The two maces belonging to the Devizes Corporation were of the usual type, and were made, it seemed, by order of Thomas Davis, who was Mayor of the town in the year 1660. By what right and title the Mayoress of Devizes used a mace, perhaps Mr. Birch would tell them, when he read the records. Maces, as a rule, were sometimes used as drinking cups. They had an example of such a one at the Duke of Beaufort's, called "The Godwin Mace," which on unscrewing became a cup. The maces before him were chased with rose, shamrock, and thistle, and were carried before the Mayor on all occasions to represent dignity and power. They were of very good type and in very good condition. There was also a cup, and cover called a Hanap. Cups were called Hanaps because they were mostly taken care of in rush baskets, hanaper being at one time a common expression, from which we get the word hamper, a basket. The cup, which was of the ordinary type, of the time of James the First, 1606, bore the names of various Mayors, and was a very good specimen of work. He might call attention to the fact that the foot was the exact pattern of those fine old Elizabethan chalices which they had seen in the Church at Bratton. It bore the London mark, and must have been made in London for this town. It was generally carried before the Mayor and Corporation by the ancient verderer, who bore the office also of town crier and beadle: they had seen that officer on the previous Sunday morning, dressed in red and wearing the Cap of Maintenance, as the King's Verderer. He had endeavoured

to ascertain from him by what right and title he held that office, and also whether he had any right to carry the cup; and he said he was not aware of there being any charter authorising him to do so: all he knew was that he was elected by the Mayor and Corporation, and that this cup was his wand of office. Of the bowl he could say very little, and the town of Devizes could not help him. It appeared to have belonged to a society called "The Brittox Club"—he presumed that would be, those gentlemen and tradesmen who in former days lived in the Brittox close by.—It bore the Prince of Wales's feathers, and was of the date of George the Second; but under what circumstances they bought this punch-bowl he could not tell, as there appeared to be no record and no vestige of the club, except, he believed, that they met about once a year. The ladle was in two pieces. Originally it had a very large spoon at the end, and they found that type of spoon head as far back as the time of James the Second. He fancied they were used as preserving spoons more than as punch ladles. The present spoon, which was only of two or three years later date, had been substituted for the original ladle, and had been adjusted to the old handle, and was used as a strainer for taking the pips out of the liquor. The mace he had now to speak of (the Rector's mace) he did not understand. He was told it was the Mayoress's mace. They found a Mayoress's mace at Cambridge, and at York the Lady Mayoress had a mace. When James the First's children passed up to Scotland they were preceded by a mace. It was an exceedingly pretty ornament there could be no doubt. It was a very beautiful piece of work, and as a rule it was carried immediately before the Rector of the parish. There are four other maces, borne by members of the Corporation. Two of these have large round brass heads, and are also ornamented with portraits of King William and Queen Mary. They both bear the following inscription "This staff was presented to the Corporation of the Devizes by John Smith Citizen of London in commemoration of the putting down of Popery and the destruction of an Arbitrary Government —1709." The other two staves are smaller and bear no inscription.

He would now call attention to what was not quite so grand as the maces and cup, nevertheless very important and curious. It was

a conventual ring that was dug up at Potterne some years back, and had been placed in his hand by Mr. Musselwhite. In was an elongated oval, and bore a symbol representing the Trinity in Unity. There was the First Person in all dignity holding in uplifted hands the Second Person on the Cross; at His right hand was a figure of a dove, and on His left hand, filling up the corner of the ring, was a circle, and a point within the circle, which they all knew meant Eternity. There were two fishes, or what he took to be fishes, and that they knew was a Christian symbol—Icthus. The ring was one of great antiquity, and was in the finest preservation, and Mr. Musselwhite might be very happy in being its possessor. It might be, he should say, of the fifteenth century or earlier.

The PRESIDENT was sure they were all greatly indebted to Mr. Lambert for the interesting account he had given them of the regalia. As to the ring, he ventured to say that he believed it was a Saxon symbol of the Trinity—God the Father holding the crucifix, with the dove representing the Holy Spirit. He had, in a chapel of his own, amongst the stones of the chapel built into the wall, one bearing a rough representation of this emblem, which was pronounced to be Saxon work, only the right hand was knocked off and therefore there was no Dove.

Mr. LAMBERT, "Not Saxon! My Lord! not Saxon!! thirteenth century, or very early fourteenth. Pray pardon my interruption."

The ancient corporate deeds and borough charters were then examined by Mr. WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L., who congratulated the authorities of the town on the careful way in which they had preserved those treasures, and he hoped they would continue to do so for many years to come. He proposed to make a few remarks on the earliest charter only, but first he would recommend the custodian to put it into a glass frame, because there were evident signs of decay where the damp was gradually destroying it. The charter was a ratification of the charter of Matilda, the celebrated Empress, as she was called. They all knew that Matilda was the daughter of Henry the First; and she was Empress, because she married the Emperor of Germany, and she afterwards retained the title because it was one of great value to her cause in England. Her charters a

few years ago interested him very much, and he went through the manuscripts in the British Museum as far as possible, and gathered together twenty-nine issued by her during her travels and wanderings through England; and strange to say, out of them, six were dated at Devizes, which, with the three at one time in possession of the Corporation of Devizes, and unpublished, make nine; and this, he thought, sufficiently showed that she spent a very great period of her troubled life in England at the castle of this town. Of those then known charters dated from Devizes he had published the text in the British Archæological Society's Journal.[1] On the previous day he found another issued by Matilda, which made up the number to exactly thirty. That was dated at Reading, and was a grant of freedom from certain tolls—passage and lestage—well-known taxes of the age. This charter that he had before him of Henry the Second confirmed the charter of Matilda. So far as he understood, every one of the three charters which Matilda gave to the town was mislaid—he would not say lost or stolen, because he hoped they might turn up again, and such things often did turn up very far from the place they should occupy. Let them hope that some day those charters might be returned to the custody of the Town Clerk. Meanwhile the Town Clerk had a very good copy of the original charter, ratified by Henry the Second. The history of Matilda was a very important one in connection with the history of England, for though Empress of Germany she was at one time also Queen of England, as much as Queen Victoria was at the present moment, but that fact had been forgotten or lost sight of by English historians, from the earliest chronicler. He had proved it, but he need only say now, that she took Stephen prisoner, she received the Crown, and she was by the Government of the time proclaimed *Domina*, Lady of England—a title specially used by a Queen (or King) of England during the intermediate period between the death or deposition of one Sovereign and the coronation of another, when she became *Regina* (or *Rex* as the case might be.) While Matilda was *Domina* she issued several charters, of which he had a list —and in which her title appeared as *Domina* or "Lady of the

[1] Vol. xxxi., p. 376.

English"—anterior to the 2nd March, 1141. She was recognised by the Bishop of Winchester and the Papal Legate, and he, in a solemn document issued at Winchester, proclaimed "We have elected her as Lady." The very next day, the 3rd March, the issue of a similar document took place, in which it was said, "We have ordered her to be proclaimed" *Domina et Regina*—Lady and Queen of England. On the 3rd of March, then, she had possession of the Crown; she had the King prisoner, and what more, he asked, was it necessary that a Sovereign should have, in order to be *ipso facto* Queen of England. That proved her incontestibly to be entitled to a place in the list of Sovereigns of England, as he had claimed for her in the pages of the Journal of the Archæological Society; and he trusted future historians would give her the place a brave lady deserved in the history of the Queens of England. Her documents were especially rare. Only one seal was known to be in existence, and that was not perfect. Fortunately they had a cast of the seal, and that was now all that remained besides the broken seal. It was to be hoped that of those Devizes charters one at least might have a perfect seal, and in that case its recovery would be a very great boon to archæologists and bibliographers. The beauty of the charter he had before him only required to be examined to be appreciated. It was in the ornamental hand much cultivated amongst clerks of the Exchequer and in the various public offices at that time. At Lacock there should be two charters of this lady, but they were just for the moment unable to see Mr. Talbot's collection of documents. Mr. Talbot had promised, however, on some future occasion to allow the Association to examine them, and he hoped he might some day be able to lay before the world some short account of his valuable collection. He would again impress upon the people of Devizes the importance of taking care of their old manuscripts.

Mr. Butcher would like to state with regard to the charters that they had documentary evidence to prove that the charter of Matilda had been missing for upwards of fifty years, so that neither the present nor the late Town Clerk had anything to do with the loss. Then as to the Rector's mace—the top of it was discovered about forty years ago by one of the late Rectors, and he had the rod put

to it and it was carried before the Rector or the Mayoress, as might happen. The last time it was carried before the Mayoress was when the foundation stone of the Corn Exchange was laid in 1857.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., was then called upon for his paper on "The History and Hardships of the Present Law of Treasure Trove," but he stated that the time was too far advanced to permit him to read it that evening. His object, he shortly explained, however, was to bring before their notice the anomaly of the law, with the view of something being done as to its amendment. By the existing law the Crown could claim any article of gold or silver found buried in the earth; and the consequence was that owners of property refused to allow search to be made; and when archæological treasures were discovered, the fact was often concealed, and the objects met with never found their way into any museum, and were lost, so far as public benefit was concerned, altogether.

In the discussion which followed Mr. C. H. Compton thought the law might stand if the Treasury were compelled to place all articles claimed in museums for the benefit of the public. Mr. Walter Myers, F.S.A, also spoke on the question, and it was understood that the subject would be fully discussed at an early meeting of the Association in London.

The President then delivered a farewell address, thanking the Members of the Association for the valuable information they had given, and showing how important it was that their local antiquities should be commented on by able archæologists of such large experience. He now desired to give them a brief summary of what they had seen and done during the Meeting. They had been able to show the Association very fine specimens of the antiquities of Wiltshire. They had given them several excellent examples of the various earthworks of Wiltshire, and he had been much surprised with the large number of fine specimens of old houses and remains of conventual buildings, and of course, Churches, that there were in the county. It appeared to him that though it had been allowed by scientific men that what used to be always called Roman camps were really British camps, they had at this meeting brought that fact home and stereotyped it on the public mind. And he thought

anyone who went to Bratton Castle and then again to Vespasian's Camp, and compared the two together, would at once acknowledge they had been the work of one people, and that from their size they were much more likely to have been the fortifications around some town than bare camps. There was another point that was ventilated at the time, which he ventured to think fell to the ground. He thought that though the British could claim the camps, it was not proved that they could claim the straight Roman roads, but they had gone a step further, because he believed that at that meeting they had applied the same principle that gave the earthworks to the old inhabitants, to the Churches. And this showed how one discovery in archæology elucidated some other. If it had not been for Canon Jones and the Saxon Church at Bradford, they would not have thought much about Saxon Churches, and now, just as they used to call everything that is old amongst earthworks, Roman, and now called them British, so the Churches that they had been in the habit of calling Norman, such as that at Avebury and another at Netheravon, certainly might have been Saxon in their original design, and he ventured to say that that accorded with our history. It was what we ought to expect. Edward the Confessor, during his reign, brought in many Norman customs, and the two styles would have been blended together even in Saxon times; and when the Conqueror came, he did not seek to act as a conqueror, but to take legal possession of the throne as the successor of Edward, and therefore it would have been perfectly absurd for him to have had the Saxon Churches pulled down. Neither could they have become decayed all at the same time: and therefore it was reasonable to suppose that though they might have been added to by the Normans, yet that many Saxon remains must exist in many of those churches which had been attributed entirely to the Normans. He thought this was one of the things they had got out of the work of the week. And there was another thing they had done. He thought that anyone who had seen Avebury one day and Stonehenge two days after, would not for a moment suppose that the same people could have had anything to do with the two places. The peculiarity of the greater one at Avebury was that as the stones

were all unhewn, it must have been a work much anterior to the time of Stonehenge. Then he thought, as he said in Mr. Smith's presence, that the little circle south of Silbury really would have a very important bearing. It was a good point of view from which to get a general view of Silbury and Avebury, and he thought it would help much in the elucidation of the system of worship there established. When they came to Stonehenge, though he could not say that the Association had settled his doubts for ever, yet at the same time he thought nobody could hesitate to admit that the week of their meeting had done a great deal towards helping them to elucidate the mystery about Stonehenge. In the first place they had had the very able paper by Dr. Phené, tracing the same sort of temple as he found in Minorca. He had traced those trilithons from Africa to Majorca and Minorca, along the coast to Spain and Brittany, and thence to Ireland, and he really thought that was a great step towards the elucidation of the subject. He could not leave this matter without pointing out of what immense importance it was that the outer earthwork, to begin with, should be preserved, and not tampered with and desecrated in the way they had seen. He hoped the Association would commemorate their visit to Wiltshire by doing something to protect this memorial, and if they would ask him to sign any petition to Sir Edmund Antrobus or anybody else, he should like to make a representation as to the vallum being kept sacred, and more care taken of the stones. The trilithon which had fallen within man's memory should be replaced; and the leaning stone should be made secure; it had gone over a good deal more during the last five or ten years, and if it fell down not only would they lose it from its position, but it would infalliby be broken in the fall, and would also knock down the little stone beneath it. As to Roman pavements, he had heard that a great deal of that at Bromham had been taken away during the last two or three years. That ought, certainly, to be preserved, and if such remains ought to be preserved anywhere it should be on land belonging to the Government. He thought there were indications of much larger remains there, and he should like the Association and their own Wiltshire Archæological Society to join

together and try to get leave from Government to thoroughly explore the place. They would, of course, want a little money for that purpose, and also for the proposed work at Stonehenge. And now a few words as to the abbeys and priories. He had especially to thank Mr. Bramble for the very admirable paper he gave them at Edington. One thing was quite new to him that he never before thoroughly realised. Everybody thought that Henry the Eighth was the man who did away with the monasteries, and that they had never been touched before. He thought everyone of them would be willing to allow that monasteries in their day did do a great deal of good, but when their work was done it was God's will that they should come to an end, and they now found that in Henry the Fifth's time, when the monasteries made themselves political when we were at war with France, and gave intelligence to the enemy, the King began the principle of alienating their revenues, and Eton and King's College, Cambridge, were endowed with the properties of which the alien monasteries had been despoiled. That was really the beginning. And then there was another word that might be said to save poor Henry the Eighth. It was a well-known historical fact that the case of the monasteries at that time was so bad in many parts of the world that the Pope and the Cardinals named a committee, with some very eminent Cardinals upon it who reported that many of them must be done away with. He had now tried to give a rough summary of what they had done, but they must not for a moment suppose that the week's work could be fully appreciated until the able papers that they had heard, had been carefully studied, and until those gentlemen who had given their lives to those particular studies,and who had shown that they were not merely walking books but walking libraries,had had time to consider what portions of the matters which had been brought before them were worthy of being accepted as truth. He could only say, and he said it unfeignedly, that he regretted the week was over.

Mr. Picton, F.S.A., said a very pleasant task had been assigned to him—a duty which he had great pleasure in performing. It was to move a vote of thanks to their respected and honoured President. They had had a most enjoyable week; he could say that, on behalf of all present. Wiltshire abounded in beauties, and they had had an

opportunity under most favourable circumstances of visiting those beauties; and he was only expressing their feelings when he gave expression to his own, which he did with the utmost sincerity, when he said that a large portion of the pleasure they had enjoyed was due to the wonderful tact and power of organization of their noble President. He had been courteous, obliging, active, intelligent, industrious, and in every way had discharged the duties of chairman in a manner that he must with truth say, after many years' experience, he never saw equalled. The name of Nelson they knew was very illustrious in our annals, and if there was anything more than another connected with the name of Nelson it was the sense of duty. The last signal given by the immortal admiral was—"England expects every man to do his duty;" and his successor on that occasion had well fulfilled that sentiment, and on retiring from the position which he had occupied during the present week so nobly and so ably, he was sure he would carry with him from that meeting the best wishes and kindest feelings of all with whom he had been associated. "Peace had her victories more renowned than war;" and if his noble predecessor achieved victory over his country's enemies, it was in the power of their noble President to contribute to victory over ignorance and neglect and indifference in regard to our grand national monuments, and to endeavour to inspire a better spirit towards their preservation for future generations. It ought to be their work and labour to get those treasures left us by our ancestors studied and appreciated, calculated as they were to throw light upon many of the glorious incidents of our history He trusted their noble President would have no cause in future to repent the pleasant week they had all spent together in visiting the antiquities of Wiltshire.

After a few words of warm acknowledgment from Lord Nelson, Mr. Loftus Brock, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, said they were indeed indebted to them for the reverence and regard they showed in taking care of the sacred buildings placed under their charge. And with reference to the hints thrown out by the President, he might say, so far as Stonehenge was concerned, they were not likely to fall unheeded, and that a public subscription would probably be instituted for re-

instating the stones that had fallen within memory. This would be one of the matters taken up, when they met at the end of the year.

The Rector of Devizes returned thanks for the compliment, and assured the Association that the clergy, as a body, were most earnestly desirous to preserve the beauty of those grand old Churches of which they were in charge, and he hoped the day might long be distant when those noble monuments of past piety should pass from the great and glorious work to which they were now applied.

Mr. De Grey Birch moved a cordial vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Devizes, for the manner in which they had received the Society demanded that they should tender them their best acknowledgments. It was important that when a Society like theirs came to such a town as Devizes they should have the good will and co-operation of the governing body of the town; and he could say they had never been more kindly or liberally treated by any Corporation than by the Corporation of Devizes.

The Mayor acknowledged the compliment: and then Mr. Myers proposed that the thanks of the Association be given to the Wilts Archæological Society. Their reception, he said, by that body had been of the most cordial kind. The assistance and co-operation that had been given them on visiting this town had been more than they had ever received before, from the President down to the Custodian of the beautiful Museum. Everything had been done that possibly could be done in giving the Association a cordial reception. He congratulated the town on its beautiful Museum in connection with the Wilts Archæological Society.

The Rev. H. A. Olivier briefly replied. Other complimentary votes followed, to those who had so hospitably entertained them, Mr. Walter Powell, M.P., Sir Gabriel Goldney, M.P., Dr. Jennings, Mr. Kemm, Mr. Talbot, and the Mayor and Mayoress of Devizes, moved by Colonel Bramble: to the Honorary Local Secretaries, Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Butcher, moved by Mr. Wright: and last, but not least, to the Honorary Congress Secretary, Mr. Wright, to whose indefatigable exertions, energy, good humour, and tact very much of the success of the meeting was due; moved by the President.

Although the visit of the British Archæological Association to Wiltshire formally terminated on Saturday, the 21st, a considerable number of the Members, not yet weary of Wiltshire antiquities, remained for two extra days, and made two more excursions.

On Monday, by permission of the Marquis of Bath, they proceeded by train to Warminster and visited Longleat, and were introduced to some of the treasures which the library contains, including the books of good Bishop Ken, who for many years here found a home in his retirement. Thence a drive through the park by Shirewater, brought them back to Warminster, where they dined, and thence back by train to Devizes.

On Tuesday they visited Marlborough, under the guidance of Mr. Wright and Mr. Reynolds. Passing on the way the valley of sarsens, known as the "Grey Wethers," they diverged from the road at Clatford Bottom, and drove to the cromlech, known as the "Devil's Den," which was commented on by Mr. Picton. On arriving at Marlborough College, the party were received by the head master (Rev. G. C. Bell) and conducted over the College buildings, the chapel, the schools, the dining-hall, and the large earthen mound, second only to Silbury in size of all the artificial tumuli in the county. Thence they drove to the Ailesbury Arms where they were hospitably entertained by Mr. Robert Merriman, of Marlborough, and Mr. Samuel B. Merriman, of London. After which they enjoyed a drive through the forest, under the able guidance of Mr. Robert Merriman, and visited Savernake Lodge, Tottenham House, the celebrated oak known as the "Duke's Vaunt," and the magnificent avenue of beeches; and then drove back to Devizes, having not only seen the principal archæological treasures of the county, but also having accomplished visits to the seats of the three Wiltshire Marquesses, viz., Bowood, Longleat, and Savernake.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society,

for the purpose of receiving the Report of the Committee, and electing the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year, was held in the

Library of the Museum, on Wednesday, October 13th, at 3.30, p.m., the Rev. C. W. Hony in the chair. The business was entirely formal, and the attendance very limited.

The Rev. A. C. Smith read the following

REPORT.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society desires to present a brief report of last year's proceedings.

"Success continues to gratify the wishes and to reward the labours of the Committee: and, though this has been in some respects a comparatively uneventful year in the annals of the Society, yet its vitality, and (it is hoped) the value of its operations, have in no degree diminished.

"The year 1880 has been a year of heavy loss in old and valued Members of the Society. Especially should be mentioned the late Dean of Salisbury, the Very Rev. Henry Parr Hamilton, who, from the day of its inauguration, has been a warm friend to the Society, encouraging it on all occasions with his countenance and his purse, which was always open to its assistance: and whose generous hospitality to the Society, on the occasion of its last visit to Salisbury, will not readily be forgotten. Another early Member, and the most munificent benefactor the Society ever had, has passed away in Mr. William Poynder; and here it should be mentioned that it was in great degree owing to his bounty that the purchase of the Museum and library was so happily completed. In addition to these, the Society has to deplore the loss of several other early and esteemed Members, notably the Rev. A. Grant, late Rector of Manningford, and Mr. James Hussey, of Salisbury. But though these and other honoured names are now no longer to be found on our list of Members, that list has been recruited from various sources, and the number of Members now on the books amounts to 392, which is a slight increase since this time last year.

"In regard to *Finance*, it is needless to enter into statistics, as the account, giving a balance-sheet for last year, has so recently been published: enough to say that in this respect there is no material alteration in the position of the Society during the last twelvemonths.

"With reference to the "*Wiltshire Magazine,*" two numbers have been issued since the last Report, concluding the eighteenth and beginning the nineteenth volumes. Of their merits the Committee leaves the Members to judge, expressing the hope that the *Magazine* is not found to decline in interest or in the value of its very varied contents.

"The great archæological event of the year in this county has undoubtedly been the visit of the "British Archæological Association" to Wiltshire. Their Congress in August 1880 at Devizes, will long be remembered by their own Members as one of the most successful meetings which the Association has ever held; while to those Members of the Wiltshire Archæological Society who joined them the presence of so many accomplished *savans,* and the comments of such able archæologists on the famous antiquities of Wiltshire, could not fail to be eminently instructive, as well as of the deepest interest.

"The Museum and Library still invite contributions, more especially of such objects as tend to exemplify the antiquities and the natural history of the county, though (thanks to the diligence of the Curators) the collections contained therein are already of remarkable interest, and as such drew forth the hearty commendations of some of the more prominent Members of the British Archæological Association.

"It only remains to congratulate the Society on its continued prosperity, and to commend to its numerous Members, scattered over every portion of the county, hearty and active co-operation, inasmuch as it is by the assistance of many, by constant vigilance and by unceasing painstaking that the great objects of the Society can be carried out."

On the motion of Rev. J. A. Lloyd, seconded by the Mayor of Devizes (Mr. T. Chandler), the Report was adopted.

On the motion of the Mayor of Devizes, seconded by Rev. J. A. Lloyd, all the Officers of the Society were re-appointed, and the best thanks of the Society were tendered to them for their past services.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Register of Church Livings in Wilts, in the Time of the Commonwealth (A.D. 1645-1650).

Edited by Canon W. H. Jones, M.A., F.S.A.,
Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

THE manuscript in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS., 459), from which the following extracts are given, is described in the catalogue, as far as it concerns this paper, as follows: "A register of all the Church Livings in the Counties of Dorset, Derby, Gloucester, ... Wilts, &c., ... with an account of their actual income, the names of the patron and incumbents, and the particular character of many of the latter. It is supposed to have been made about the year 1654, for the use the Commissioners appointed in the Act of Parliament which was passed for the ejecting of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers."

From the want of any episcopal registers of this date, the document, which is now printed for the first time, is valuable as supplying a missing link in the ecclesiastical history of our diocese. The period of the Commonwealth was, as is well known, one of great religious effervescence, and the proceedings of the council for the appointment and approval of public preachers, and other offices connected with the religious services and clergy, possibly resulted in this good at least, that they gave an impetus to religious action. Though by the proceedings of the various committees that were appointed some injustice in particular cases may have been done—and of this there can be no doubt—yet at the same time there can be no hesitation in admitting that many abuses were swept away by the enquiries which resulted in the compilation of this record.

In any case it is valuable as supplying materials for the ecclesiastical history of our county at a period when other sources of information are not forthcoming. W. H. Jones.

Bradford-on-Avon, July, 1880.

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
SARUM DIVISION.							
AMESBURY HUNDRED.							
Okingham.			Dean & Chapter of Sarum. £160. £26 3*s.*4*d.* is the rent reserved.	Mr. Henry Barker.	£70, salary out of the Parsonage.	Mr. John Bateman, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	The Lessee doth provide him.
Hurst.	[The Church and Parish is in	most part of the Barkshire.]	Dean & Chapter of Sarum.				
Swallowfield.	Part in Wilts, & that part ly	part in Berks, ing in Wilts is	£30. Church of Hereford.		£8, the privy tithes of that part that lyes in Wilts.		
Durrington.			£220 [£20 is the old rent]. Dean & Chapter of Winton.	William Kent.	£20 and a sacke of wheate and a sacke of barley, the Lessee is to discharge the cure.	Mr. Leonard Maton, he preacheth constantly once every Lords day.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Brigmilston and Milston.	£100. Mr. John Smith by sequestration from Mr. Richard Hide, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	The heires of Sir Laurence Hide.	£35, a portion of tithes & gleab. The fee is in the heires of Sir Laurence Hide.	John Munday.			
North Tidworth.	£115, Mr. John Graile, he preacheth twice every Lords day	State.	A portion of the Tithes £20. £3 is the rent expected. Dean & Chapter of Winton.	Mr. John Mompesson.			
Ludgeshall and Biddlesden.	£100. Mr. Henry Cusse is by sequestration upon Dr. Andrews, Rector, and he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Mr. Browne, a recusant.					
Kingston Deverel.	£140. Mr. Eburne, he preacheth twice every Lords day, sequestered from Mr. Alisbury.	Heires of Mr. HenryLudlow.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
West Wellow.			That part in Wilts to the Rect: £15				
Feilden. [=Figheldean.]			Two parsonages, one £60. £6 is old rent. Dean & Chapter of Winton.	Mr. Duke.	£50.	Mr. George Pile is Vicar, he preacheth every Lords day.	State.
			£160. £23 is old rent. Treasurer of the Church of Sarum.	(Baronet) Pile.			
Bulford.			£120.	Mr. John Duke. Mr. George Duke.	20 nobles by Mr. Duke; he is to provide a Curate and allow him £20.	Mr. John Flower, preacheth every Lords day once, and expounds.	
Amesbury.			£250. £40 the old rent. Dean & Chapter of Windsor.	Mr. Edward Tooker.	£20, ancient endowment. £25 by the Lessee who is bound to provide a Curate.	Mr. Uriah Bankes preacheth twice every Lords day.	[Augmentation £40 by the Committee for plundered ministers out of the Rectory].

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Dorneford.			£30 is old rent. Dean & Chapter of Sarum.	Mr. Vaughan.	£48, part of it, £12 to the Curate.	Mr. Holland, he preacheth once every Lords day.	State.
Choldrington.	£60. Mr. Nathaniel Noyes, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Lady Kinsmill.					
Newton Toney.	£130. Mr. John Batty by sequestration from Mr. Ryley, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	..... Colledge in Cambridge, the next avoydance only is in Dr. Danvenant.	A portion of tithes in Newton were payd the Rector.	Farme in Boscombe his neighbourhood (*sic*).			
Allington.	£60. Mr. Peter Tilley, he preacheth constantly twice any Lords day.	Robert Walleys Esq.					
Boscombe.	£60. Mr. James White, he preacheth once every Lords day and catech	Bishop of Sarum. iseth and reads day and twice in	A portion of tithes £25. Crowne. common prayer the weeke.	Stephen Kent.			

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
HUNDRED OF ELSTUBBE & EVERLEY.							
Everley.	£180. out of it £2. a pension to the Dean & Chapter of Sarum. Mr. Christopher Tisdale he preacheth constantly every Lords day twice.	State.					
Hamme.	£70. Mr. Henry Newton, he preacheth constantly twice a day.	Dean & Chapter of Windsor.					
Patney.	£100. Mr. John Massey, by sequestration from Dr. Marsh. He preacheth constantly every Lords day twice.	Dean & Chapter of Windsor.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Collingbourn Ducis.	£300. Mr. Henry Scudder, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Marquess of Hertford.					
Alton & Stowell.			£50. Earl of Pembroke.	Sir William Button.	The Church being annexed to Overton is worth £10.	Mr. John Grigson, a sequestered man, he preacheth every Lords day in the morning, and in the afternoon reads common prayer.	Earl of Pembroke.
Overton & Fifield.			£210. Earl of Pembroke.	Mr. Bowles	Overton £70. Fifield £25.	Mr. Popejoy is Vicar of Overton, he preacheth twice every Lords day. No Vicar at Fifield.	Earl of Pembroke.
Stockton.	£120. out of it a pension of £5. to St. Cross' Hospital. Mr. Samuel Wright from Mr. Chri He preacheth day & expoun week besides.	Bishop of Winton. by sequestration stopher Green. twice every Lords once in the					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Fiddleton and Hackleston.	£180. Mr. Matthew Hind, he preacheth twice every Lords day. It is sequestered from William Jay.	Heires of Mr. Benjamin Jay, save the next avoydance in William Jay.	Portion of tithes £30. out of it in old rent to Committee of the Revenew £3.	Heirs of Mr. Benjamin Jay.			
Netherhavene & Chisenbury de la Foley.			£280. £30 is rent reserved. Prebendary of Sarum.	Mr. Gabriel Pile and William Tucker.	£45.	Mr. John Ring, he preacheth every Lords day.	Said Prebendary.
Enford.			£320.	Mr. John How.	£120.	Mr. Henry Culpeper, he preacheth every Lords day.	Heirs of Mr. Rolf deceased.
Rolston.	£40. Mr. George Hadfield, he preacheth twice every Lords day, it is sequestered from Mr. White.	State.					
Little Hinton.	£100. Out of it a pension of £2 to the Dean & Chapter of Winton.	Bishop of Winton.				Mr. Peter Nicholls, he preacheth every Lords day.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
DOWNTON HUNDRED.							
Funthill Epi.	£60. Mr. Robert Olding, he preacheth constantly twice every Lords day.	Bishop of Winton.					
Downton & Chapel of Stanlinch, not much above half-a-mile distant.			£700. College of Winton.	Mr. Gilbert Rawleigh.	£40.	Mr. Sam[l]. Coxe is Vicar. he preacheth constantly twice every Lords day.	Warden and Scollars of Winton Colledge.
Nunton.			£60. Colledge of Winton.		£6 in tithes. £2 10*s*. pension from the Colledge.		Colledge of Winton.
Bishopston.	£400. Mr. Ralph Coldecot, he preached once & expounds once every Lords day.	Earl of Pembroke.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
CAWDEN & CADWORTH HUNDRED.							
Stratford Toney.	£130. Mr. Douglas Castilion, he preacheth constantly.	Edw. Hide, Esqr.					
Homington.			£100. £10 is the rent reserved. Dean & Chapter of Sarum.		£20 salary from the Lessee.	Mr. Roger Hallet, he preacheth sometimes.	
Compton Bissett.			£120. £17 is the old rent. Prebendary of Sarum.		£40.	Mr. Hector Carpenter is Vicar, he preacheth twice every Lords day. It is sequestered from Mr. Henry Beach.	
West Harnham.			£100. £15 is the rent reserved. Prebendary of Sarum.	Mr. Francis Roach.	£40 out of the Parsonage.	William Hunt, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	
Odstocke.	£100. Mr. John Swafell, he preacheth constantly.	Sir John Webb a recusant; now in the State.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Bretford.			£225. £20 is the old rent. Dean and Chapter of Sarum.	Mr. Kekwig.		Mr. Edw. Faulconer, he preacheth constantly. By sequestration from	
			£12 out of large tithe. £1 is old rent. Dean and Chapter of Winton.	Mr. Goodale.	£50.		
Barford S^{t}. Martin.	£150. Mr. John Woodbridge, he preacheth constantly every Lords day.	John Bowles, Esq.					
Fovent.	£180. Mr. John Priaux, he preacheth constantly twice each Lords day.	Earl of Pembroke.					
Baberstocke.	£80. Mr. Christopher Wilton, Esq.; he preacheth only once every Lords day.	Mr. Gawen, a recusant.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
South Burcomb.	£40. The parsonage annexed to the Rect. of Wilton. Mr. Chandler receives the tithes of S. Burcomb, as Rector of Wilton.	Earl of Pembroke.			£10.	Mr. Samuel Mainston, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Mr. Andrew Bowerman, as Master of the Hospital of St. John's in Ditchampton.
North Burcomb.	£20. Leased out to Walter Dawkins, the rent reserved £4 6*s.* 8*d.* William Bowerman.						
Netherhampton.			£40. Earl of Pembroke.		£17. It is an appendage to Wilton. Mr. Chandler receives it, and allows the curate £10.	Mr. Hulett is Curate, noe preaching minister. Mr. Chandler preacheth once a month.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Wichberry.			£45.	Heirs of Sir William Doddington.	£15. The Vicar receives the profits of the Rectory for his life, by the gift of Sir William Dodington.	Mr. Thomas Starre is Vicar, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Heirs of Sir W. Doddington.
CHALKE HUNDRED.							
Semley.	£140. Mr. Matthew Twogood, he preacheth constantly twice every Lords day.	The manor being in controversy, we know not who is patron.					
Barwicke St. John.	£100. Mr. Thomas Yard, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Earl of Pembroke.					
Broadchalke.			£625. £257 6*s.* 8*d.* is old rent. King's College in Cambridge.	Mr. George Penruddocke.	£120.	Mr. John Sloper, he preacheth constantly. Mr. Butt and Mr. Bisse curates at the Chappels.	Kings College.

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Boure Chalke ; chapel to Broadchalke.			£175. which is part of £625.		20 marks allowed by Mr. Sloper.		
Alvedeston. Chapel *ut supra*.			£100. part ut supra.		20 marks allowed by Mr. Sloper.		
Tollard Royal.	£36. Mr. Henry Combe, he preacheth constantly.	State ; formerly the Lord Arundel of Wardour.					
Ebbesborne Wake.			Appropriation £100. Prebend of the Church of Sarum. Impropriation £60, in fee by Mr. Bodenham.	Mr. Penny.	What the inhabitants will give.	Mr. Henry Swadden, a sequestered man ; he preacheth constantly once every Lords day.	
Fifield.	£60. Mr. Thomas Coles, he preacheth once every Lords day.	Thomas Hancocke, the older gent.					

Parish	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Knoile.	£230. Mr. William Clifford; he preacheth constantly twice every Lords day. It is sequestered from Dr. Wren.	Bishop of Winton.					
Hindon (chapel to Knoile.)					£25. £24 a salary out of the Church lands.	Mr. George Jenkins; he preacheth constantly twice every Lords day, and hath the tithes of Hindon.	
BRANCHE & DOLE HUNDRED.							
Wilton Borough.	£110 is the whole with the Vicarage united with it. Richard Chaundler; he preacheth constantly every Lords day twice.	Earl of Pembroke.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Sherington.	£100. Mr. Robert Dyer; he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Mr. Lambert.					
Wyly.	£148. Mr. Thomas Hill by himself and his curate, he preacheth once, and when both are there, twice on the Lords day: it is sequestered from Dr. Hide.	Earl of Pembroke.					
Steeple Langford.	£65. Mr. Nathan. Giles; he preacheth twice every Lords day; by sequestration from Mr. Collyer.	Mr. Henry Miles for the next avoydance, and then Mr. Henry Collyer.					
Winterbourne Stoke.			£120. Heirs of Sir Edward Hungerford. A portion of Tithe £15. Dean and Chapter of Sarum.	Mr. William Snow.	£40.	Mr. Robert Maton; he preacheth constantly once every Lords day.	Heirs of Sir Edward Hungerford.

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Little Langford.	£65. Mr. John Wilton, he preacheth constantly once every Lords day; he is, as we are informed, a sequestered minister.	Earl of Pembroke.					
Maydenton.			£100. Heirs of Sir Edward Hungerford. £15 portion of tithes. Dean and Chapter of Sarum.	Mr. Tooker.	£20 salary out of the Parsonage, and £40 the gift of Sir Edward Hungerford.	Mr. William Arnold, he preacheth twice every Lords day. The Curate is noe fit man for the ministry.	
Wishford Magna.	£140. Mr. Robert Parker, he preacheth constantly: it is sequestered from Mr Brown.	John Howe, Esq.					
South Newton.			£211. Earl of Pembroke.		£40.	Mr. Dickinson, he preacheth constantly.	Earl of Pembroke.

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Fuggleston. Bemerton (chapel to Fuggleston).	£200; out of it £30 to the curate. Mr. Philip Pinckney, by sequestration; he preacheth constantly, by him self and Mr. Faulkner his Curate, twice every Lords day at both Churches.	Earl of Pembroke.					
Fisherton Anger.	£80. Mr. George Bayly, he preacheth constantly. It is sequestered from Mr. Kent.	Lord of the Manor.					
Shrewton.			£100.	Mr. Thomas Cartwright. Mr. Edward Masters.	£40.	Mr. Thomas Worthen, he preacheth constantly twice every Lords day.	Late Bishop of Sarum.
Orcheston St. Mary.	£110. Sixteen shillings paid out formerly to the Crowne now to the State. Mr. Th ornburgh, he preacheth cons tantly twice every Lords d ay.	Mr. Giles Thornburgh.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Tilshead.			Two parsonages impropriate. £160 is the value of both. Earl of Pembroke in fee; Sir Ralph Hopton.		£35.	Mr. Robert Sharpe, he preacheth constantly.	State.
Barwick St. James.			£100. Held in fee by Mr. Simon Spatchurst.		£4 in small tithes, and £20 a stipend out of the Rectory.	Mr. Roger Powell, he preacheth constantly twice every Lords day.	Henry Sandes, Esq.
Asserton, chapel [ruinated	to Barwicke. and of noe use.]				Noe maintenance.		
Stapleford.			£160. £12 is old rent. Dean and Chapter of Windsor.	Mr. Bartholomew Smith.	£6 in small tithes and £24 a stipend out of the Rectory.	Mr. Humphry Wall, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Dean and Canon of Windsor.
ALDERBURY HUNDRED.							
Laverstoke.			£160. £80 is the rent reserved. Vicars Choral of Sarum.	Richard Williams.	£80.	Mr. Francis Bushell, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Winterbourne Earles.			£120. £17 10*s.* is the old rent. Prebend of Sarum.	Sir Edward Nicholas.	£102 10*s.*	Mr. Walter Norman, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	
Winterbourne Dantsey.			£78. £16 is the old rent. Prebend of Sarum.	Jeremiah Webb.	Noe maintenance.	Mr. Thomas Spratt, he preacheth once every Lords day	
Winterbourne Gunner.	£80. Mr. Anthony Hillary, he preacheth twice every Lords day. It is sequestered from Mr. Pickhover.	Mr. Zouch, of county of Dorset.					
Idmeston, Porton, and Gumbleton.			£240. £30 is the ancient rent. Dean and Chapter of Sarum.	Mrs. Bowle.	£100.	Mr. John Sharpe, he preacheth once at Idmeston, and once at the chapel for Porton and Gumbleton.	State.
Winterslow.	£200. Mr. John Carter, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Alexander Thistlethwaite, Esq.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
West Dean and East Grimstead (chapel neare 2 miles distant).	£200. Mr. John Newnham by sequestration from Dr. Nicholas, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Sr. John Evelyn					
West Grimstead and Plaitford (chapel 4 miles distant).	£100, whereof £30 from Plaitford. Mr. William Warriner, he preacheth twice every Lords day.	Richard Compton, Esq.			(Plaitford) £18, salary paid by Mr. Warriner.	Mr. Samuel Tarrant, he preacheth every Lords day.	
Pitton and Farleigh (chapel 1 mile distant).			£110. £20 in privy tithes. £14 is the old rent. Treasurer of the Cathedral of Sarum.	Peregrine Thistlethwaite.	Out of the small tithes in Pitton, 6*s*. 8*d*. by the weeke.	Mr. Richard Biggs, he preacheth every Lords day. Farleigh destitute of a curate.	
Alderbury.			£60. £7 is the rent reserved. Treasurer of the Cathedral of Sarum.	Jane and Elizabeth Gouldston.	£20. Part of it is £4 by the Lessee,	Mr. John Ely, he preacheth once every Lords day.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
FRUSTFIELD HUNDRED.							
Whiteparish.			£180. Edward St. Barbe, Gent.		£50.	Mr. Richard Paige, he is sequestered.	Edward St. Barbe, Gent.
Landford.	£50. Mr. Thomas Bisson, by sequestration from Mr. Allbright.	Giles Eyre, Esq. Dr. Davenant.					
UNDERDITCH HUNDRED.							
Stratford.			£150. £16 is old rent. Prebendary of Sarum.	Dr. Bourman. Mr. Boulton.	Noe maintenance.	Noe Minister.	
Two Woodfords, Heele, Lake and Wilesford (2 churches and chapels in it).			£300. Dean and Chapter of Sarum.	William Bowles holdeth the two Woodfords and Heele; and Mr. John Duke, Lake and Wilesford.	£70.	Mr. Edw. Tanner, by sequestration from Mr. Good.	Late Dean of Sarum.
St. Martins in Sarum. Milford.			£160. £40 is old rent. Dean and Chapter of Sarum.	William Barneston, Gent.	£8, besides the privy tithes from the farme called Bishops Downe.	Mr. William Eyres, he preacheth twice every Lord's Daye.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
St. Thomas in Sarum.	Dean and Chapter of Sarum had the cure of souls there.				Fourpence of every communicant at Easter yearly.	Mr. John Connant, he preacheth twice every Lords Daye.	The Curate put in by the Dean and Chapter of Sarum.
St. Edmund's in Sarum.					£5 in small tithes.	Mr. John Strickland. It is a lay-fee granted to him by the parish for 99 years if he live so long. He preacheth twice every Lords Daye.	
Cathedral Church of Sarum.						Dr. Tate supplies the ministerial office formerly supplied by the Dean and Prebends. He preacheth twice every Lords Daye.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
CHIPPENHAM HUNDRED.							
Chippenham.					£6. 13. 4.	Jonathan Gyer is the Vicar and supplies both it and Tytherton Lucas, preaching in the morning at one place and in the afternoon at the other.	Christ Church in Oxford.
Titherton Lucas.	£40. The minister of Chippenham is parson and Vicar there.	Christ Church in Oxford.					
Titherton Kelways.	[No minister there for this 4 years. The Church is in decay.]						
Langley in Titherton.							
West Kynton.	£100. Robert Davenant.	Bishop of Sarum.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Lacock.					£40.	Mr. John Barnes.	Lady Stapleton.
Colerne.			R. Sinecure.	Mr. Marshall, Warden of New Colledge.	£50. Qy whether this be not the value of both Rect. and Vic.	Incumbent lately dead *viz.* Mr. Huggins.	Warden of New Colledge.
North Wraxall.	£80. Thomas Blanchard.						
Box.					£80.	Walter Bushnell is Vicar.	
Haselbury.	£20 or thereabouts. Noe constant minister.						
Bidston St. Nicholas.					£6. 0. 0.	cf. Bidston S^{t}. Peters.	William Mountjoy, Esq.
Bidston St. Peter's.	£13. 0. 0. M^{r}. William Blackway supplyes it, and Bidston S^{t}. Nicholas, a godly able minister.	Lords Comm^{rs} of the Great Seale.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Slaughterford.					£4. 10.	Noe settled minister.	William Mountjoy, Esq.
Kingswood Chapel.					£6. 13. 4, salary to the curate.		
Sherston Magna.					£38.	Mr. Henry Hayes, he is approved of.	
Yatton Keynell.	£80. 0. 0. Mr. William Stumpe, we cannot free him from scandall.						
Castle Combe.	£60. Mr. Roger Flower, he reades other men's works in the pulpit.	John Scroope, Esq.					
Sopworth.	£45. Mr. John Waterman, approved by us.	The late King.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Hardenhuish.	£30. Mr. Eyre.	Thomas Hawkins, Gentleman.					
Langley Burrell.	£100. Mr. Thomas Webb; we cannot free him from scandall.	Henry White.					
Luckington.	£50. Mr. Nicholas Waddington, approved by us.	Thomas Barker, Esq.					
Alderton.					£20. 0. 0. salary.	Mr. Elyas Tyrer, a constant preacher.	
Ditcheridge.	Parsonage and Vicarage. £11. 0. 0. Mr. Richard Bridges.	George Peake, Esq.					
Bramble. [=Bremhill.]	Parsonage and Vicarage. £160, out of which £20 towards the maintenance of S[t] Mary's Church in Sarum.			£9 out of said rent, received by Sir Edward Bayntun.		Mr. James Crimpe, by sequestration from Mr. Townsend; approved by us.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Foxham.	[Chapel to Bramble, two miles distant.]				£19. 0. 0. salary of Mr. Crimpe for serving the cure.	Mr. Thomas Collyer.	
Lye Dallemore.	£60. Mr. Philip Kinsman.	Henry Chivers, Esq.					
Eston Grey.	£30. Mr. John Newland by the consent of the major part of the parishioners. Mr. Jones is since come in without their consent.						
Corsham.					£50.	Mr. Edward Dyer; he preacheth constantly.	Sir Edward Hungerford.
Avon. [Neither church nor chapel—the parish to Christian Malford.]	£10., part of it is received by Mr. Edward Hungerford of Cadnam, and part by Mr. Doleman of Christian Malford.						
Littleton Drew.	£40. Mr. George Russel, reputed to be of honest life and approved by us.	Late Bishop of Sarum.					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
MALMESBURY 100.							
Malmesbury.					£55. 0., a great part of the dues detained by the inhabitants of the chapelries.	Mr. Robert Harper.	The late King.
Rodborne. .	[Chapel to Malmesbury, one mile and a half distant, or two miles]				No certaine salary knowne, but it is supposed the Curate receives the profits arising here about £13.0.0.	Mr. Simon Gawen.	
Corston.	[Chapel *ut supra* a one mile and a half distant.]				*ut supra.*	*ut supra.*	
Sutton Benger,					£20. Augmentation of £9. 0. 0. by Committee of the County, rent reserved out of the Rectory.	Mr. John Ferris.	Bishop of Sarum.

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Seagrey.					£10.	EdwardBridges.	Earl of Danby.
Brokenborough	Within the paish of Charleton, belonging to Westport in Malmesbury; threeChurches.	Earl of Berks.			20	Mr. Trenchard.	Since the King's decease, it belongs to the Earl of Berks.
Dracot Cerne.	£50; out of it £25 to the curate. Mr. Thomas Fider, by sequestration, Mr. Thomas Power, his curate. Mr. Fider is a godly man.	Robert Long, Esq.					
Somerford Magna.	£100. Samuel Kinnaston.	Robert Jonson.					
Dauntsey.	£80. Dr. Cheshire.						
Foxley.	£50. William Hart, approved by us.	Sir George Aylyffe.					

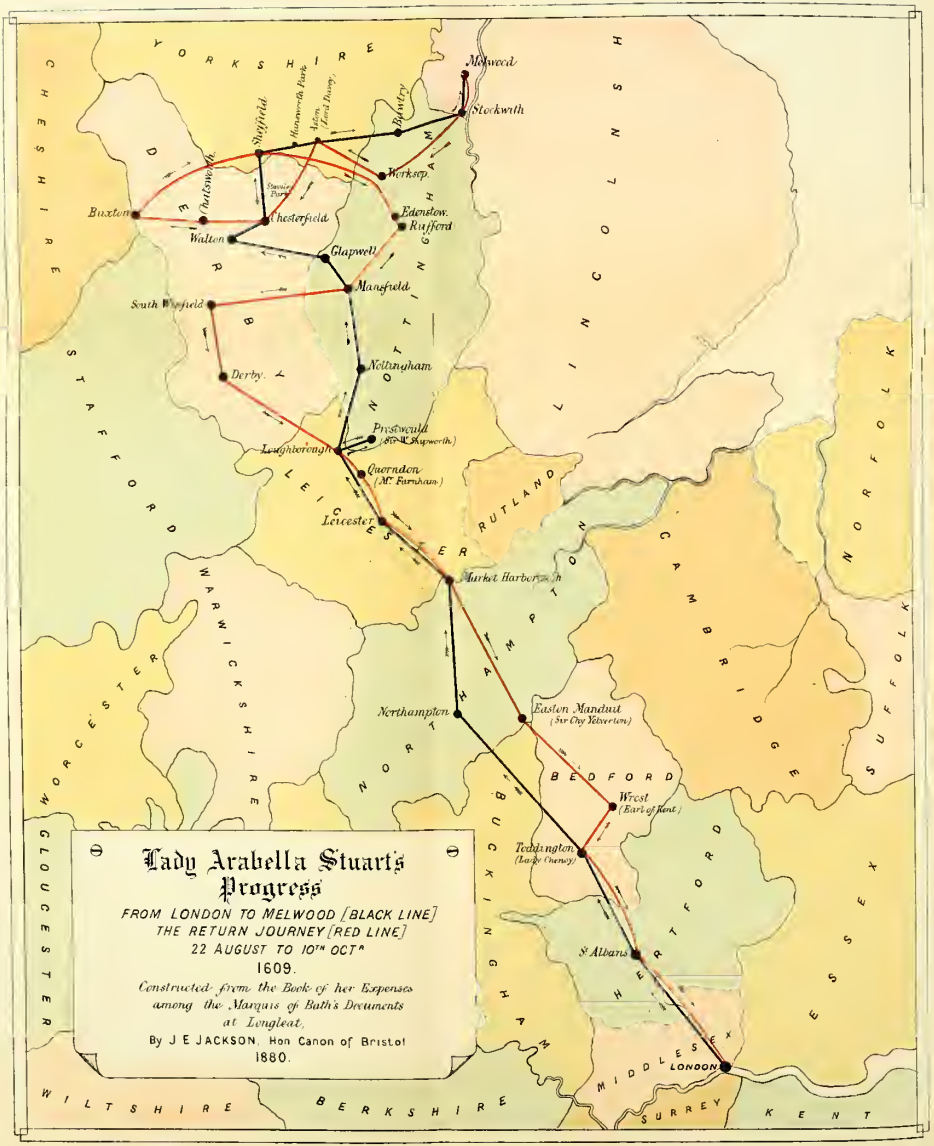
Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Bremilham.	£16. Mr. Edward Bridges; he preacheth four times a year.	Earl of Danby.					
Long Newenton.	£40. George Estcourt.	Sir Thomas Estcourt. Richard Godfrey. John Paxton.					
Kemble and Ewen.	Rectory and Vicarage £50. Mr. Thomas Thackham.						
Ashley.	£40. John Barrett.	The late King.					
Charleton.					Gleabe, 40 marks Tithes, 40 ...	Mr. William Whitley.	
Crudwell.	£96. Mr. George Nevill.	Sir Thomas Lucas.					
Hancherton.					£45.	William Beale; the cure is supplied by John Beale son to William Beale.	Robert Beale.

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Norton					£20.	Mr. Cox, a godly man.	Jeffery Bath and others.
Garsdon.	£40. John Heiron.	Mr. William Palmer.					
Lea and Cleverton.	[Chapels to Gars	don; within a m	ile distant.		£50.	Mr. Heiron, Vicar.	
Hull Lavington.					£45.	Mr. William Latimer.	Provost of Eaton Colledge.
Poole.	£50. Mr. John Ferreby.	The late King.					
Okesey.	£85; out of it £20 to a curate. Mr. Thomas Elson; Mr. John Ferreby, Junior, serves under him.	Kelloway Guidot and William Guidot.					
Stanton Quintin.	£100. Mr. John Hodges by sequestration from Mr Charenbury; a very godly, able, man well approved of.	James Charrenby and James, his son, *pro hâc vice.*					

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Myntie.					£55; the tithes are the most in the county of Gloucester; only a Vicarage House and gleabe worth £4 per annum in Wilts.	Barnard Waite.	Archdeacon of Wilts.
Brinkworth.	£200. Dr. Harding by sequestration from Dr. Doudswell, he is approved of by us.	Sir George Ayliffe.					
Somerford Parva.	£80. John Palmer.	Earl of Rutland.					
Calne Hundred.							
Calne.					£35; £12 salary out of the rent.	William Morti mer, above 80 years of age. John Franklin, a godly, a ble man, is his assistant.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
Barwick Basset.	(Chapel to Calne.)				£30. out of the rent.	Mr. Millard is Curate.	
Blackland.	£30. Thomas Page.	Lately presented by the Lords Comm[rs] of the Greate Seale.					
Compton Basset.	£100. James Nisbett.						
Yatesbury.	£100. Mr. Henry Norborne.						
Heddington.	£65. Mr. Henry Rogers.						
Cherrill.				The donative hath the small tithes £13.0.; a gift of Dr. Davenant, Treasurer of Sarum, £16.		John Stephens.	
Calston.	£35. Richard Jennings.	William Ducket Esq.					
Barwick Basset.				£30 salary out of the rent.		Woolstan Miller.	

Parish.	Rectory Presentative.	Patron.	Rectory Impropriate.	Possessor.	Vicarage.	Incumbent.	Patron.
NORTH DAMERHAM HUNDRED.							
Nettleton.	£100. John Fabian.	Sir John St. John.					
Grittleton.	It hath been let for £80, and is now held to be worth £100. Richard Jaques.	Richard Woodroffe.					
Christian Malford.	£160. Mr. William Doleman; he is approved by us,	Bishop of Bath and Wells.					
Kyngton St. Michael.				£60; out of it £15 to the curate.	Richard Hind is Vicar; because of his insufficiency Mr. Nicholas Pierce assists him; he preacheth once a Sabbath and is a very able, godly, orthodox minister.		Lady Long.


Lady Arabella Stuart's Progress
FROM LONDON TO MELWOOD [BLACK LINE]
THE RETURN JOURNEY [RED LINE]
22 AUGUST TO 10TH OCTR
1609.
Constructed from the Book of her Expenses among the Marquis of Bath's Documents at Longleat,
By J E JACKSON, Hon Canon of Bristol
1880.
YORKSHIRE
CHESHIRE
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLNSH
STAFFORD
LEICESTER
RUTLAND
NORTHAMPTON
CAMBRIDGE
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
WARWICKSHIRE
WORCESTER
BEDFORD
BUCKINGHAM
HERTFORD
ESSEX
GLOUCESTER
WILTSHIRE
BERKSHIRE
MIDDLESEX
SURREY
KENT
Melwood
Stockwith
Bawtry
Aston (Lord Darcy)
Hanworth Park
Sheffield
Chatsworth
Buxton
Chesterfield
Stavale Park
Worksop
Edenstow
Rufford
Walton
Glapwell
Mansfield
South Winfield
Nottingham
Derby
Prestwould (Sir W Skipworth)
Loughborough
Quorndon (Mr Farnham)
Leicester
Market Harborough
Northampton
Easton Manduit (Sir Chy Yelverton)
Wrest (Earl of Kent)
Toddington (Lady Cheney)
St Albans
LONDON

Longleat Papers, No. 5.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

(*Continued from Vol.* xviii., p. 285.)

Lady Arabella's Progress.

IN a former volume of this *Magazine*[1] was given a short account of Lady Arabella Stuart, so cruelly treated by King James I., in consequence of her clandestine marriage with William Seymour, the Protector Somerset's great grandson (afterwards Marquis of Hertford, and finally restored Duke of Somerset): and of the accidental discovery, among the Marquis of Bath's papers at Longleat, of a book of her expenses kept by Mr. Hugh Crompton, her steward.

A book of expenses, if carefully kept, serves, to a certain extent, the purpose of a journal or diary; because each recorded item of outlay records also some act done, some taste indulged, or some movement made. Accordingly in his register of the poor Lady's money, received and spent during the year 1609, Mr. Hugh Crompton has preserved to us much of her private history during her last year of liberty, for she was sent to the Tower soon after her marriage, in the beginning of the year 1610. We have in it all the little details of her living, at Blackfriars, Whitehall, Greenwich Palace, or elsewhere: the cost of diet, wages, horse-keeping, masques, rewards, &c., but for the present Paper it is proposed to extract from the manuscript a few only of the items that refer to a visit, or as in the case of visitors of Blood Royal it was generally called, a Progress, made by her, in 1609, among her friends and relatives—principally in Derbyshire—and her return to London.

She was a native of that county, having been born about the year 1575, at Chatsworth, the home of her mother, Elizabeth Cavendish, and of her grandmother, the celebrated "Bess of Hardwick." On her father's side she was niece to Mary, Queen of Scots, and therefore

[1] Vol. xv., pp. 159, 202.

cousin to King James I., whose successor on the throne she would have been had he happened to die without issue. She was a very accomplished, witty, and popular young lady: everything about her Royal, except her income: for King James had a great fondness for money, and gave her as little as he possibly could. After considerable time and trouble, being now thirty-four years of age, she obtained the not excessive allowance of £1600 a year from the Exchequer; made up by sources of her own to £2160 a year. No wonder then if she was obliged to borrow, as she did, some money on the security of her jewels, for the extra expenses of her Progress. For her rank, retinue, and the mode of travelling in those days, obliged her to employ no less than twenty to twenty-five horses: a number, perhaps, partly rendered necessary by the state of the roads: for it appears that in some places she was obliged to pay for the repair of them before she could pass.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. HUGH CROMPTON'S BOOK OF ACCOUNT.

"AN accompt of all soche
monies have bin recd
by me for my Ladyes
use sins the 22th of August
1609,

		£	s.	d.
Sept. 28.	From my Lo: Shrousbury which was given my La: at Wingfield	100.	00.	00.
Oct. 24.	Oute of thexcheqr for one q^r^ter due at Michalms 1609	400.	00.	00.
Dec. 29.	Oute of thexcheqr for a q^r^ter due at Christmas followinge	400.	00.	00.
March 26. 1610.	Oute of thexheqr for another quarter due at La: day following	400.	00.	00.
June 7.	Received from Andrew Clayton wch he retorned to London paid heer by one Mr Allen a Vinegar maker	080.	00.	00.
26.	Moreover, received oute of thexcheq for one q^r^ter due at Mydsomer past.	400.	00.	00.
July 6.	Received from Sr Thomas Reresby in London for one whole year's rent Issuinge out of Denaby * due the vi^th^ June paste.	060.	00.	00.
20.	Received from Sr Persivall Willughby for one year's rentcharge Issuinge oute of Willughby upon Woules due the xx^th^ of July paste	200.	00.	00.
Sept. 29.	Received also from Andrew Clayton wch. was retorned to London and paid ther by Mr. Allen aforemencioned	120.	00.	00.
		£2160.	00.	00.

* Denaby was a manor near Thribergh (between Rotherham and Doncaster, Co. York) which beonged to the Reresby family. (*Hunter's South Yorkshire*, ii., 41.)

"Hereafter insueth th' accompt of all soche monies I have Layed forth for my Ladies occasions sins the 22th of Auguste 1609."

From Whitehall.

"Tuesday 22. 1609. Imprimis given this daye at the garden gate at Whitehall to the poore as my Ladie tooke hir coache to come into countrie 3s. 4d."

St. Alban's.

"She supped and slept. Soper, £2. 8. 6. Breakfast 2. 11. 10. Horse-mete for 20 horses £2. 2. 6. hostelers 2. 0 Musitions 10/- poor at the gates 10/- ringers 10/- chamblens 5/ My La: Arrondale's * coatchman 1. 0. 0. A trompeter 2/6. The poore on the way back to St. Alban's and Toddington 4/11"

Toddington, near Dunstable Co. Beds.

[This house had belonged to Lord Cheney, who died in 1587. His estate devolved to his wife, a daughter of Thomas, Lord Wentworth of Nettlestead, and was inherited by her relatives. In 1608 Toddington had been visited by King James I. (*Lysons's Bedf.*, p. 143.)]

"At Tuddington.

Friday 25th Aug. 1609. Given among the officers in my ladie Cheynee's howse. Imprimis to the clarke of the kytchen 1. 0. 0. 2 cooks 1. 0. 0. 2 boyes in the kytchen 5/. 2 in the scullery 5/. The Butler 10/. His boy 2/6. The pantler 10/. Yeoman of the wine-cellar 10/. Porter 10/. Groomes of the great chamber 1. 0. 0. Groomes man of the chamber 5/. Landry woman 10/. The baker 10/. To a woman wayted on the chamber 10/. Groom of the stable 10/."

Northampton.

"Sat. 26th At Northampton. To Sir James Croft's footman that came with my Lady from Toddington to Northampton 10/. Given to the boy at Northampton that made ye speeche before the Kinge 10/."

Prestwould. (27th August)

[Near Loughborough, Co. Leicester; then the seat of Sir William Skipwith.]

"Mon. 28th. Pd. Sr. Wm's coachman for bringing my Lady to Nottingham 1. 0. 0."

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* Lady Arrondale. This was Alethea Talbot, daughter of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury and cousin to Lady Arabella Stuart.

Mansfield.

"For ale and cakes at the Alehouse beyond Nottingham 4/0.
To my La. Bowes' cochman for coming to meet my La. at Mansfield 1. 0. 0.
For My Lady Bowes * coachhorses meat at Mansfield attending my La. coming there 1/. The schoolmaster at M. presenting certain verses to my La: 6/0."

Glapwell.

"Mending the spring-tree of the coach at Glapwell /6.
3½ yards of crimson baize for a petticoat for my La: at 3/4 a yard 11/8."

Walton Hall, Chesterfield.

[Walton lies a little to the west of Chesterfield. It belonged at this time to the Foljambes. Sir Francis Foljambe, created Bart. in 1622, described in the family history as "a man of a profuse temper and excessive hospitality," weakened his estate by extravagance, and sold Walton in 1633. It was occupied (as above-mentioned) in 1609 by Lady Bowes. It is now a farm-house, but must have been of greater size in former times, as Mary, Queen of Scots and her retinue were lodged there one night. (See *Hunter's S. Yorkshire*, vol. ii., 59.)]

"Thur. 31 Aug. 1609. To the officers sent from the Maior and Brethren of Chesterfield with a present to my La: to Walton 1. 0. 0.
Paid for hay for the ould coach-mare 3 days at Chesterfield staying there to be dressed of a foote she was pricked 1/6.
——Four shoes for 'Bay Briton.' d°. the spotted nag: do. for 'Bay Fenton.' d°. the sumpter horse. 1/ each.
Delivered to the Lady Bowes's steward to be distributed in the house at my La: coming thence. 6. 13. 4.
To my Lord of Rutland's musitions 1. 0. 0."

To Sheffield.

"Sat. 2d. Sept. To the poor of Chesterfield as my La. passed through to Sheffield 2. 0. 0.
To Sir Peter Fretchvile his keeper for a stag killed in Staly Park,† sent to my Lady to Sheffield 1. 10. 0.

* Lady Bowes. This was Isabel daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Kt., Lord Chief Justice of England. She married, first, Godfrey Foljambe, of Walton; secondly, Sir William Bowes, of Barnard Castle, Co. York. She was living at Walton at the time of Lady Arabella's visit, and also in 1617, when she married her third husband, Lord Darcy. (See *Hunter's S. Y.* as before.)

† Stavely Park is in Derbyshire, about four miles east of Chesterfield: at this time the property of the Freschville Family.

To Mr. Tuke for a sermon he made at Sheffield, by my Ladies comand 2. 0. 0

To Sir Charles Cavendish's musition 1. 0. 0.

Given among some poor wymen, my lady hunting a stag in Hansworth park * 1/.

To a poore woman bringing my Lady a dish of wardens [*i.e.*, warden pears] from Sheffield 2/.

To another bringing plums 10/.

Sept. 8. To my La. Pembroke's † bow-bearer 1. 0. 0."

Bawtry.

"Sept. 9. Among certen poore at Beautrye [Bawtry] that daie my Lady dranke at Mr. Richardson's going into Lincolnshire 4/."

Stockwith.

[Here she reached the River Trent and the county of Lincoln.]

"To 3 men that mended the ways for the coach short of Stockwith half a mile 2/6."

Melwood Park.

[This is a little south of Epworth in the district known as the Isle of Axholme, which in 1609, the year of this Progress, was a large tract of level and nearly black soil undrained, and therefore little better than a bog or swamp. It contained, however, woods and islands of drier ground, which afforded fine hunting of the deer, partly in boats and partly on *terra firma*. In Leland's time (*c.* 1540) Lord Mowbray, of Axholme, was chief owner of Melwood and of the rest of the Isle. There was also at Melwood a dissolved monastery of Carthusians, which had been granted by Henry VIII. to Mr. John Candish (*i.e.*, Cavendish), who had turned it into a goodly manor house. As the account book does not mention gratuities "at Melwood," but only "at Sir George St. Paul's," it would seem that Sir George, and no Cavendish, was her host at Melwood. He was also of a Lincolnshire family, whose own place was at Snarford, near Market Raisin. According to *Hunter's South Yorkshire*, vol. ii., 147, 153, "Melwood Park, in the time of James I, belonged to the Stanhopes of Grimston, Co. York."]

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* Hansworth: a house built by the Earl of Shrewsbury, on the edge of Sheffield Park.

† Lady Pembroke. This was Mary Talbot, another daughter of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, wife of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and sister of the Lady Arundell, mentioned above.

"9 Sept. For a boat to pass the stuff [baggage] in the coach from Beautry to Melwood by water in the night 3/6.
Given a man of M^r. Northes came to guide the gentlewymen and horses that night to Melwood 2/6.
For a coach horse bought of Sir Gervase Clifton £20.
Gave Needham my Lo. Shrewsbury's man for a packet of letters he brought from Welbecke * to Melwood 5/.
Given a keeper brought my La. a stagg from Sr Edward Swifte † to Melwood 1. 0. 0."

The Return Journey.

"Sept. 13. To Watermen that rowed my La. in a boat from Melwood to Stockwith 1. 0. 0.
To those that mended the Highway betwixt Melwood and Stockwith 13/.
To the Poor att Melwood as my La. came away 13/4.
Amongst other poor by my La. comand betwixt Melwood and Worsoppe 2/2."

Worksop, Notts.

[Worksop Priory: granted at the Dissolution to Francis, son of George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury.]

"Sept. 14. Given a mayde brought my La. a present from Sir Bryan Lassells ‡ to Worsoppe 10/0.
For certain spices bought by my La. comand at Worsoppe 4/9.
Among the servants that wayted at Worsoppe that night my Lady lay there 5. 0. 0."

Aston.

[A few miles east of Sheffield, then the seat of John, Lord Darcy, who died 1635. His relative, Conyers, Lord Darcy, was created Earl of Holderness. The house (like that at Winterslow, in Wilts,) was destroyed by fire on the night of a ball, during the minority of the last earl, who was born in 1718. (See *Hunter's S. Y.*, ii., 165.)]

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* Welbeck: then belonging to Sir Charles Cavendish, the youngest of Lady Arabella's maternal uncles.

† Sir Edward Swyft. This Swyft family was originally of Rotherham, Co. York. Sir Robert, (father of Sir Edward,) had estates about Doncaster and lived at Street Thorpe, where he entertained Prince Henry, son of King James I. He was known by the name of Cavallero Swyft, being given to quarrelling and fighting duels, in one of which the rapier of his adversary—John Kingston, of Grimsby—forced out two of his front teeth. Some one in a company happening to say that this disfigurement had been caused by a candlestick having been thrown at him, Kingston gave the true version of the case, adding "Body of my lord! had he not had strong teeth, I had run him through the head." Sir Robert was bow-bearer of the Royal chace of Hatfield. His son Sir Edward, had been knighted at Belvoir by James I. on his way to London. He died before his father: and his brother by half-blood—Barnham Swyft—was created Baron Carlingford.

‡ Sir Bryan Lascelles, of Gateford, near Worksop, knighted by King James I. at Belvoir.

"Sept. 16. At my Lord Darseys. The servants, 6. 16. 6 : Poor at gate 6/6.
Given to a footman of the Lord Darcy's came to guide part of the way that day to Chatsworth 10/0.
To two guides more that same day on the moors to Chatsworth 6/.
To a farrer for bludding and drenching Freake's nagg sicke of the staggars 3/.
For mending the sompter sadle and a long rein to lead him 2/.
For the sompters and 6 men attending the same from Walton to Buxtone lying shorte one night. Their charges spent of themselves and their horses came to 9/6."

Chatsworth.

"At Chatsworth Sunday 17th Sept. 1609.
Given to the clerk of the Kytchen 10/. To 3 cookes 1. 10. 0. 2 Kytchen boyes 5/. The Butler 10/. his man 5/. the yeoman of the celler 10/. The Usher of the hall 10/. Mr. Dove 10/. The porter 10/. the musitions 10/. 2 groomes of the greate chamber 1. 0. 0. To one that attended my La. chamber 10/. 3 poor folks on the way 1/.

Buxton.

For a man of Mr. Cavendish's came to guide us to Buxton 5/0.
For Mr. Henry Cavendish's 4 coache horses at Buxton from Sonday till tuesday the 19th. Two nights at 6d. a horse a nighte, 4/.
For 5 strikes and a pecke of pease and oats for them at 2/8 a strike 14/.
For the coachman and his man's dyett for 4 meales at 6d. a peece a meale. 4/.
Sept 19. The coachman in reward for coming from Chatsworth to Buxtons 10/.
Paid for ale sent for by my La. command from Tidswell to Buxton 3/0."
"Paid for the men's dyetts ther that came before with the sompters a day to Buxton 5/6.
Gave him that kept the well there 1. 0. 0.
Sept. 20. To his man 6/. To 2 wymen attended my La. at the Well 1. 0. 0.
Given among the poore at Buxton on our coming away 13/4."

At Sheffield.

"Paid 2 guides sent by my Lord of Shrewsbury to conduct my La. on the moors from Buxton to Sheffield 12/.
To the Ringers at Sheffield on passing through 5/.
To my Lo. of Pembroke's coachman for bringing my La. part of the way from Buxton to Sheffield her owne coatche breaking on the way 10/.
Paid for a roape the same time to bind the coatche 10d.
Paid for ale when my Lady stayed to drinke on the way betwixt Buxton and Sheffield 1s. 1d.
Given to certen laborers mended the wayes that day on the mores 5/.

„ 23rd. Sente Sir Geo. St. Poll by his manne Alexander Hayward for a coatche horse he sent my La. to Sheffield £20: and to the same man for his paines in bringinge the horse £1.

Pd. for mending the coatche at Sheffield 10/.

Alsoe for the harnes 2/6.

Giv n in reward to a man of Mrs. Digbie's * brought my La. certen preserves to Sheffield 2/6.

25th. Given the gardiner at Sheffield for certen nosegaies he gave my La. there. 5/.

And to a woman wayted on the gentelwymen's chamber there 5/.

To the Piper ther 5/.

To a poore woman gave my La. a petition in hir coatche the daye shee came thence to Roughford [Rufford] 10/0.

Alsoe to a man brought and deld. my La: a pair of small sheeres the same time in her coatche 5/."

Rufford.

[Two miles south of Ollerton, Co. Notts. This Abbey had been granted to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and passed by marriage of Mary Talbot to Sir George Savile.]

"Given among certen poore at Edelstoe † as my Lady came with my La: of Shrowsbury to Roughford 5/0.

Sept. 26. Given amongst Mrs. Markham's servants at Roughford the night my La: lay there 5. 0. 0.

28. Given a man of Sir Richard Harpur's ‡ brought my La. a letter and certen wrytings in a boxe to Wingfield 10/0.

Winfield.

[South Winfield: eleven miles from Chesterfield, on the road to Derby. The manor-house, built in the reign of Henry VI., by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, became about A.D. 1330 the property of the Earls of Shrewsbury, by six of whom it was occupied in succession. During the time of George, the sixth earl, it was occasionally the residence of Mary, Queen of Scots. (See *Blore's History of Winfield.*)]

"Sept. 28. To the Kytchen amongst the Cooks 3. 6. 8. The Wardrobe 1. 0. 0. the pantler and butler 1. 0. 0., 2 ushers in the hall 1. 0. 0. the yeomen of the cellar 10/., 2 gromes of the grete chamber 1. 0. 0. 2 wayted on my La: chamber 1. 0. 0., the porter 10/. grooms of the stable 1. 0. 0."

---

* Mrs. Digby: probably of Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts.

† The steward meant Edwinstow, between Worksop and Rufford; then occupied by George Markham, Esq, father of Sir Thomas Markham, an officer in the Civil Wars of Charles I.

‡ Sir Richard Harpur. One of the Justices of Common Pleas. Of Finderne, in Mickle Over near Derby: whose monument (1635) is in the chapel of Little Over.

THROUGH DERBY.

"Given among the poor of the towne of Derby as my La. passed that way 5. 0. 0.

To Tayler a caryer met my La: in Derby, and her letters from London 2/0.

Given a poore woman on the waye betwene Derby and Quarne 0/6."

QUARNDON HOUSE, NEAR LOUGHBOROUGH.

[At that time, and still, the seat of the Farnham family. A Mr. Farnham of that day was an old gentleman pensioner of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.]

"Att Mr. Farnhams.

Sept. 29th	Among his servaunts the night my La: laye there	5. 0. 0.
	Paid for ale my La: dranke in going to Harborow	1. 0.
	„ for my La: and her compaines, one night at Harborow	5. 5. 0."

MARKET HARBOROUGH

"30	„ Horsmet ther for 26 horses one night	2. 9. 7.
	„ for my Lo. of Shrewsburyes lighter men [litter-men] and their horses, staying by my La. comand 2 nights and 1 day at Wellingborow	19. 6.

EASTON MAUDUIT.

[Near Wellingborough: the seat, at that time, of Sir Christopher Yelverton, Kt., one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, who died 1611.]

"1609, 2 Oct. Att Mr. Justice Yelverton's.

Given to a man of his to guide my La: to my Lord of Kent's *	0. 6. 0.
Among certen poor at Mr. Conquest's Lodge † the day my La: dyned there	0. 2. 0."

WREST PARK, NEAR SILSOE, BEDFORDSHIRE.

[Then the seat of Sir Henry Grey, sixth Earl of Kent: one of the peers on the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots: who, says Dugdale, "evinced more zeal for her destruction than befitted a person of honour."]

"Oct. 4.	Paid the lytter men's charge lying 2 nights at the towne at Wrest as may appeare by their bill 13/2.	
	The lytter-men, in reward for their paines in coming along with my La. from Wingfield to Wrest	3. 0. 0.
	To the coatchman had his legg broke	2. 0. 0."

* Wrest: about nine miles south of Bedford

† Houghton Park, *alias* Dame Ellensbury Park, at Houghton Conquest, near Ampthill, Co. Bedford: at that time occupied by Sir Edmund Conquest.

TODDINGTON.

"9 Oct.	Given a footman brought worde to my La. to St. Alban's that my La : Arrondale was brought bedde of a son	10. 0."

ST. ALBAN'S.

"9 Oct.	Soper and dyner at St. Albans	8.	15.	6.
	Horse meat for xx^{tie} of my La : and x of Sir Henry Grays	2.	9.	4."

LONDON.

[10th Oct. To the house of her aunt, the Countess of Shrewsbury, in Broad Street.]

The whole expenses of the Progress were £323 18*s.*, besides a few bills that followed, and interest of money borrowed for the journey on the security of jewels.

To the Editor of the Wiltshire Magazine.

DEAR SIR,

I lately made a pilgrimage to Wulfhall and found an interesting relic of the palmy days of the Lord Protector's residence there. In the upper part of the existing farm-house, close by the old barn, but certainly not in its original position, are some well-preserved portions of a stained glass window relating to Jane Seymour and her son, Edward VI., when Prince of Wales. It is divided into two parts, each having three subjects. The upper consists of the imperial crown ; in the second is the badge of Jane Seymour, Queen of Henry VIII., a crowned eagle or phœnix rising from a bed of flowers consisting of pinks and roses and resting on a castle. In the lower division are, on the dexter side, the Prince of Wales's feathers, and on the other side the Tudor Rose.

This glass must have been made at some period when Edward VI. was called Prince of Wales, that is, between 1537 and 1546.

Sandford says that Queen Jane Seymour "who is said to die willingly, to save the life of her son, did bear a Phœnix in his Funeral Fire, with this motto NASCATUR UT ALTER," and subsequently adds in a note, "This Edward VI. bare (as did the Black Prince) three feathers in a crown, while his father lived, as Prince of Wales, with ICH DIEN. Albeit he was never so created." Mr. Planché remarks that the ostrich feather was originally a badge, and not a crest as now erroneously regarded. Plumes of feathers were not worn until the reign of Henry V., and then as portions of costume, not as personal crests. The Black Prince's feather was a single ostrich feather only.

Whilst on the subject of stained glass I should like to put on more lasting record the following interesting letter, which appeared in a local newspaper some time ago, relating to the wanton destruction of painted glass in Salisbury Cathedral towards the end of the last century, at the time when the disastrous alterations were being made in the Cathedral by Wyatt, under the auspices of Bishop Barrington. It was written on 16th June, 1788, by John Berry, glazier, of Harnham, to John Lloyd, Esq., of Conduit Street, Hanover Square, London :—

"Sir. This day I have sent you a Box full of old Staind and Painted Glass as you desired me to due wich I hope it will sute your Purpos it his the best that I can get at Present. But I expet to Beatt to Peceais a great deale verey sune as it his of now use to we and we Due it for the lead if yow want Eney more of the same sorts you may have what thear his, if it will Pay for Taking out, as it his a Deal of Truble to what Beating it to Peceais his you will send me a line as sune as Posobl for we are goain to move ore glasing shop to a Nother Plase and thin we to save a greatt Deale more of the like sort wich I ham your most Omble Servnt John Berry."

The original, endorsed "Berry ye Glazier about beating the fine painted Glass Window at Sarum to pieces to save the Lead ! ! ! " is in the possession of Miss Conway Griffith, in North Wales.

This barbarity was certainly equal to anything perpetrated at the time of the Reformation or during the period of the Civil Wars.

The greater part of the glass so destroyed was probably the portions then remaining of the original "grisaille" windows of the middle of the thirteenth century, from the want of which the present interior of Salisbury Cathedral suffers so terribly. With the exception of the great eastern and western windows, and perhaps a few others of importance which were filled with the rich mosaic glass of the period, it is probable that the whole of the side windows of the arcades and clerestories were occupied with a plainer decoration, consisting of foliaged scroll-work on a white ground of a rich sea-green hue, with narrow borders and occasional medallions of richly-coloured glass. A valuable store of this glass, brought from different parts of the Cathedral, is still preserved in the windows of the south-eastern transept. The grandest existing example of this kind is to be found in the windows of the north transept of York Cathedral known as the Five Sisters.

The great variety of design in the composition of these windows seems to have been suggested by the idea of forming a rich and complicated pattern by arranging in layers, panels, or figures, in such a manner that each layer might over-lap and partially conceal those beneath. Others have a geometrical pattern, in which the design is expressed solely by the lead-work used in the construction of the windows.

It was probably owing to the cost and difficulty of repairing these windows, also from the large quantity of lead employed in their composition, that the "restorers" of 1788 would find their excuse for clearing away the whole mass and replacing them with the cold quarry glazing which now exists.

I am, yours faithfully,

J. E. Nightingale.

"Deed of Gift of North Nywantune to the Monastery of Wilton, in the County of Wilts, by King Athelstan, A.D. 933."

Extracted from Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, and translated by Rev. F. A. Radcliffe, Rector of Milston, and communicated by P. Delme Radcliffe, Esq.

"Carta Regis Athelstani, de Nywantune.

"Hic est Nywantunæ aquilonaris Codicillus.

"In nomine Dei excelsi, qui cunctum suo sancto moderamine, sub axe et supra mundum gubernat; est enim singulis quibusque sollerter studendum, dum indulta temporum spatia Dei nutû concessa possident, ut ea quæ in diebus illorum agunter, litterarum apicibus commendare curaverint, ne in oblivionem successorum perveniant, quæ inantea salubriter fuerunt constituta. Quamobrem ego Aethelstanus, omni creantis disponente clementiâ, Angligenarum omniumque gentium undique sexus habitantium rex, donans concessi ad monasterium sanctæ Dei genetricis Mariæ, quod dicitur Wiltune, quandam telluris particulam, decem, viz. manentium, ubi ab incolis Nywantun nominatur, be Avene streme, et quinque cassatos secùs silvam quæ appellatur Safernoc, illi in loco ubi plebili narratione dicitur æt Motenes oran, cum campis et pratis et pascuis et silvis et omnia illuc pertinentia; magnis, modicisque, notis ignotisque œternaliter possidendam. Sit autem prædicta terra libera ab omnibus secularibus negotiis, præter expeditione et pontis, arcisve constructione. Præcipimus etiam in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis, ut nullus nostrorum successorum huic kartulæ, nec cum antiquâ kartâ, nec cum alicujus ingenii sagacitate lædere valeat, sed ipsa semper in suo statû fixa et inlœsa permaneat. Consentientibus et conservantibus hanc nostram diffinitionem, perpetua maneat pax. Contradicentibus vero vel frangere nitentibus pœnalis sit vindicta, nisi in præsenti emendent sœculo. Territorio autem hujus agrelli, hæc sunt.

"[(1) Imprimis ad Avenam (fluvium sic dict) apud vadum Stintesford dictum; inde per viam ad vadum Teoltonford dictum; et sic adversus fluvium ad vadum Wifelesford dictum; inde per liberam viam militarem ad collem arenarium; a colle ad torrentem (vel fontem) Botan-wylle dictum; inde secus fluvium ad nigrum lacum, inde per lacum ad Avenam, et sic per fluvium iterum ad vadum Stintesford dictum.

"(2) Hi sunt fundi (vel terræ) limites apud Oran. Imprimis ad fontem Heeselwylle dictum; inde per viam ad Beorhdicam (i. collis fossam;) inde per fossam ad Scirpetum; et sic occidentem versus ad Bradanstanam (i. latum lapidem:) a lapide ad aggeris fossam; inde ad Lusæ collem; inde per

viam ad rubrum volutabrum (l. stagnum;) et sic ad Wodeni fossam; inde à fossâ ad speluncæ portam (l. ostium); inde ad Dragstanam (lapidem sic dictum;) et sic ad Meosleagam (i. campum mucosum;) à campo per viam boarium iterum ad Heeselwillam.]

"Acta est autem scriptio hujus kartulæ, anno Dominicæ incarnationis DCCCC^mo.XXXIII°. Hiis consentientibus testibus, quorum nomina subtus notata sunt. Ego Æthelstan, rex Anglorum præfatam donationem indeclinabiliter concessi. Ego Wulfhelm Dorobomensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus consignavi. Ego Alfeah, Wintoniensis ecclesiæ episcopus consensi. Ædred, episcopus. Cenwald, episcopus. Wulfhun, episcopus. Odo, episcopus. Ælfeah, episcopus. Burhric, episcopus. Ælfwold, dux. Uhtred, dux. Odo, minister. Wulfgar, minister. Sigered, minister. Eadmund, minister. Ælfric, minister. Wulfsige, minister. Ælfhere, minister. Wihtgar, minister. Æthelwold, minister. Ælfheah, minister. Ælfred, minister. Wulfmær, minister. Wulfgar, minister."

Translation.

"This is the Deed of Gift of North Nywantune.

"In the name of the High God, who governs every thing by His sacred sway—the universe beneath and above the heavens. Now it is a wise desire and care of all men, whilst they are in the enjoyment of the term of life kindly granted them by the permission of God, to provide that the events of their own time should be recorded, in order that their posterity might not forget the wholesome enactments of their ancestors. Wherefore I Æthelstan, by the merciful ordering of the universal Creator, King of all English-born, and of all clans and sexes that dwell on every side, give and grant to the monastery of Mary, the holy Mother of God, which is called Wiltune, a certain portion of land—ten manors namely, in the district called by its inhabitants Nywantun by Avon Streme, and likewise five tracts of waste land near the wood which is called Safernoc, in that district which, says Motenes, is vulgarly called Ore, together with the plains, meadows, pastures, woods, and all things belonging thereto, whether great, small, known or unknown—as an eternal possession. But let the land be set apart from all secular business, except the building of a bridge, or the erection of a citadel.* We order moreover in the name of the Sacred Trinity that none of our successors may invalidate this deed, either by bringing into force some former deed or by any other subtle design: but that this deed may remain for ever in its present condition unaltered and not mutilated. To those who consent to and uphold this distribution of land which I have made may there remain peace for ever. But to those who oppose or try to violate it may the vengeance of punishment [hereafter] overtake them, if [the rulers] correct them not with chastisement in this world. Now in the territory of this state are the following tracts of land:—

"[(1) In the first place starting at a ford on the Aven (a river of that name)

* This is the usual clause exempting lands given to religious houses from all save the "Trinoda necessitas"—expeditione, ponte, arce—*i.e.*, helping the king in any war, building bridges, or fortifications for common good.

called Stintesford; from thence along the road to the ford called Teoltonford and so up the river to the ford called Wifelesford: from thence by the open military road to the sandy hill; from the hill to the brook or fountain called Botanwylle: from thence near the river to the black lake; and from thence along the lake to the Aven, and so along the river again to the ford called Stintesford.

"(2)* These are the limits of the estate near Ore. In the first place starting towards the fountain called Hæselwylle; from thence along the road towards Beorhdic (a trench of the hill;) from thence along the trench to Scirpetum; and so towards the west to Bradanstane; (that is to say, a broad stone:) from this stone to the trench of the mound; from thence to the hill of Lusa; from thence along the road to a ditch full of red mud (*i.e.*, a stagnant pool) and so to Woden's dike; thence from the dike to the mouth of the cave; from thence to Dragstane (a stone so called) and so on to Meosleaga (a marshy plain;) from the plain along the cattle road to Hæselwylle again.]

The writing of this deed was done in the year of Our Lord 933; with the consent and in the presence of those whose names are undersigned, I, Aethelstan, King of the English, grant, without the power of recal, the fore-mentioned gift. I, Wulfhelm, Archbishop of Dover, have set my seal thereto. I, Ælfeah, Bishop of Winchester, have consented. Ædred, Bishop. Cenwald, Bishop. Wulfhun, Bishop. Odo, Bishop. Ælfeah, Bishop. Burhric, Bishop. Ælfwold, General. Uhtred, General. Odo, Minister. Wulfgar, Minister. Sigered, Minister. Eadmund, Minister. Ælfric, Minister. Wulfsige, Minister. Ælfhere, Minister. Whitgar, Minister. Æthelwold, Minister. Ælfheah, Minister. Ælfred, Minister. Wulfmær, Minister. Wulfgar, Minister."

I desire to offer the following remarks on the preceding paper:—

(1) We may recognize some of the existing names of places in the foregoing deed. First, Ore bears exactly the same name. By Stintesford I imagine that Stanton's ford of the river Avon is meant. Wiflesford, again, is evidently the ford of the river at Wilsford. By the "open military road" from Wilsford to the "sandy hill" is still more evidently meant the road from Wilsford to Newnton called "Catsbrain[1];" which is an open road, and one

[1] A part of the parish of North Newnton is still designated "Catsbrain:" the meaning of which strange term is at once seen by the mention of the camp of Brennus, "Castra Brenni;" which immediately becomes "Cats-Bren," and this naturally degenerates into "Catsbrain." [F.A.R.]

Canon Jones, however, gives a different interpretation in *Mag.*, xiv., p. 159, wherein he says the origin of the word is to be found in the compound *coed-* (or *coit*) *bryn*, which would mean simply *wood-hill*. [Ed.]

* This second (2) land-limit relates, as I understand, to *Rainscomb*, which is still included in the parish of North Newnton, though some miles away from it. [Ed.]

of those straight, direct, roads, for which the Romans were so celebrated, and which they no doubt used as a *military* road; and the highest part of it by Newnton Bush is probably composed of *sand* and clay, so that, whilst it is very sticky in wet weather, it is very *sandy* and dusty in fine weather, just like Hilcott long-hedge. From this "sandy hill" you then go down to the brook called Botan-wylle, that is, no doubt, the vale of sheep, consisting of rich pasture, watered by a brook. This brook, I should imagine, was that clear, beautiful little streamlet, running between the Church at Newnton and Mr. G. F. Fowle's cottages, which waters all the fields running up towards *Bohun*, which probably formerly meant the same. You then go to the "black lake," which must, have been, I think, up somewhere in the "Doles" behind Maslen's house, where the soil is *marshy* and *black*. Then you follow the river back again to Stanton. The river Avon encloses the estate, given in the deed, on three sides, and "Catsbrain" encloses it on the fourth.

(2) It is evident from this deed that the term North Nywantune, or North Newnton, is used in a much wider sense than we use it now. Most probably it is mentioned alone because it had the best soil in the estate. However, whatever may be the reason, it seems to have the pre-eminence. I should have mentioned above that I consider Teolton's ford to be the same as Alton's ford.

(3) With regard to the Latin, I suppose :—

Firstly, that "omni creantis disponente clementiâ" should read "omni-creantis," &c.

Secondly, that "manentium" is the old monkish Latin word for "manors," that is, estates with *dwellings* upon them. The words "mansa" and "manerium" appear to have been thus used.[1]

Thirdly, that "æt" is put for "ait."

Fourthly, that "omnia illuc," &c., ought to have been in Latin, "omnibus illuc pertinentibus—magnis, modicisque," &c.

[1] Canon Jones observes that "manentium" would not be described as "manors" in the technical sense, but "holdings." As a "hide" was in a general sense the holding sufficient for one family, so "mansæ" or "manentes" came to be synonymous for hide. Thus the ten manentes at Nywantune. (See Introduction to Domesday for Wiltshire, p. xxxiii.) [Ed.]

On the Surname Poore: its origin and meaning.

By Canon W. H. Jones. M.A., F.S.A.,

Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

ALL Wiltshiremen must be more or less familiar with the surname Poore. It was that of two of the early Bishops of Sarum, and the Poores, of Amesbury, are amongst our county families.

The name is spelt in various ways, Poer—Poore—and Le Poore. It has been commonly regarded as an equivalent to "pauper" or "poor," and in more than one of the chronicles Richard Poore appears as "Ricardus *Pauper*." The notion that the two names were convertible is a very ancient one. Thus Robert de Graystanes, who was elected and consecrated in the year 1333 as Bishop of Durham, though immediately set aside by the authority of the Pope, in his account of the see of Durham, speaks of "Ricardus *dictus Pauper*" as having been promoted to it from Sarum in the year 1229. It is possible that even earlier instances of the same kind may be produced.

Nevertheless as applied to Herbert, and Richard Poore, who became in succession Bishops of Sarum between 1194 and 1217, the name, or rather, as so applied, epithet, "*pauper*," or "*poor*," is, to say the least, singularly inapplicable. Neither of them could so be termed from any voluntary vow of poverty taken as a member of any monastery or religious community. And in temporal things the two brothers seem to have been well endowed. Thus, in the Osmund Register, it is distinctly said of Herbert Poore that he was "*rich* and painstaking" (dives et assiduus), whilst of Richard Poore we not only know that he was, before he became a bishop, the benefactor of the monastery of Tarrant, in Dorset, which was his native village, but also the donor of an estate at Laverstock some few years afterwards to his new Cathedral. Moreover, when a site was needed for that Cathedral, it was found at last at a place called Mær-field, which is described as being "*in proprio dominio suo*,"

an expression which can only mean *on his own private estate*.

It is evident, then, that the name "Pauper," as an equivalent to "*poor*," is in no sense applicable to either of these early bishops. For these reasons I venture to suggest another origin for this name, and subjoin the grounds on which I arrive at such a conclusion.

My belief is that the name Poore, or Poer, which in Ireland appears also as Power, is the Norman-French equivalent for the Anglo-Saxon *cild* (=child). In the twelfth century both these terms had a distinctive meaning, and designated one of knightly rank, or the younger children of nobles not yet in possession of their paternal estate. In truth the Anglo-Saxon word *cniht* (=knight) also meant a boy.

In illustration of the above statement it may be mentioned that "*Puer* Anglicus" was a designation of the Prince of Wales as heir to the throne of England. Moreover, the father of the great Earl Godwin was styled "Wulfnoth *cild* thone Suth-Seaxiscan," that is, "Wulfnoth the South Saxon *knight*."

(1) And now for proofs, first of all, of the identity of Poore with *Puer*. This is pretty clear from the fact that we have "Ranulf Poore" attesting a charter in 1174 as *Puher* (Hearne's Lib. Nig. I. 40), and in 1175 as *Poer*, (Eyton's Shropshire, viii., 153,) whilst various chroniclers, in giving an account of his death in 1182, give the surname as "Le Poer," or "De Poer." Moreover, many examples might be adduced, shewing that during the reign of Henry II. the same name is spelt indifferently "Puher," or "Poer." In proof of this I add a few instances from the "Itinerary of Henry II.," recently printed by the Rev. R. W. Eyton.

The instrument of pacification between Henry II. and William, King of Scots, dated at Valoins, December 8th, 1174, is attested, among others, by "Ranulf *Puher*" (p. 186).

In the next year (July 7th, 1175,) the king granted a charter to Roger Mussun (*servienti suo*); among the witnesses is "Randulf *Poer*" (Ib., 193).

In the summer of 1182 Radulf *Puher* was slain by the Welsh. Benedictus (Stubbs) I., 288, speaks of the same person as Randulf *de Poer*. Ibid, 248.

In 1177 King Henry gives Waterford city to Robert *le Poer,* his marshall as *custos*—his name appears in 1186 among the grantees of the crown as Robert *le Poher.* In giving an account of his arrest, together with another English "knight," in 1188, by Raimond Comte of Toulouse, he is called Robert *Poer.* (Ibid, 214, 273, 287.)

(2) Accepting this as proved, that the Latin "puer," in the sense of "knight," or "cadet" of a gentle family, is really the origin of the name "Poer"—it did not assume the form *Poore* till a later period than this of which we have been speaking—we may add that its identity in meaning with the Anglo-Saxon *cild,* seems to be clearly proved by this one fact, that the Shropshire family of "Child," still existent, credibly claim a descent from a family which was one day called "Le Poer" and another "Child"; one branch of that family assuming one, and another branch the other as a surname. References confirmatory of this statement may be seen in the index, or glossary, to Eyton's "History of Shropshire."

It is possible that such an interpretation may throw light on the meanings of some of the local names into which one or other of these terms enters into combination. Thus "*Child*-Okeford," in Dorset, which has been identified as the Domesday manor of Ackford, and which, before the conquest, belonged to the Earl Harold, may fairly be thought to derive its specific name from him. And as regards "*Poor*-stock," one of the oldest possessions of the Church of Sarum, we are fortunate in being able, from successive documents, to form a correct conclusion as to its meaning. In the time of the Domesday Survey it belonged to Roger Arundel, the under-tenant being called in that record simply "*Hugo.*" But among the charters preserved in the Muniment-Room at Salisbury Cathedral, is one dated about 1152, in the time of Bishop Jocelin, by which "Alma and Margery daughters and heiresses of *Hugh le Poer* make over to William Scamell all their rights in the manor of *Porestoc* with its appurtenances." If the Domesday owner, or under-tenant, were of the rank of one of the King's Thanes, the name of the place would be intelligible enough, especially if the latter were the same as "Hugo, *miles,*" who occurs once at least in the Dorsetshire Domesday.

H. F. BULL, Printer and Publisher, 4, Saint John Street, Devizes.

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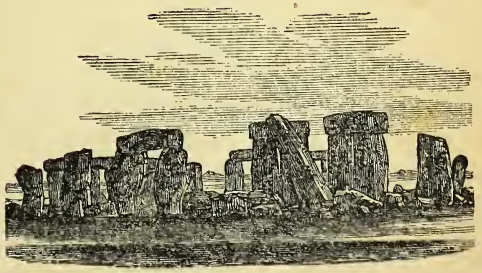

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THE

WILTSHIRE
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THE
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."—*Ovid.*

Existing Analogues of Stonehenge and Avebury.

Researches in the Mediterranean.

By Dr. PHENÉ, F.S.A., F.R.G.S.,

Honorary Member of the Archæological Societies of Athens, New York, &c.

(Read before the British Archæological Association, at Devizes, August, 1880,)

AMONG the various matters connected with these strange and impressive monuments, to which the learned have given attention, is that of discovering some precedent or authority for the structures, or, at least, an example of their design or construction, and it must be admitted that these endeavours have so far been unsuccessful. But there seems a generally-received opinion that there is at least evidence in classical writers that temples prior to that of Solomon, and of course, therefore, among many nations long after, were mere enclosures, open alike to the heaven above and the winds around. It must be admitted, however, that no structure like Stonehenge has been described. There are three points for consideration in connection with Stonehenge:—1st. It is a structure of at least two periods widely separated. The materials and dimensions of the earlier structure differ altogether from those of the later and grander erection. 2nd. It is not mentioned by writers of antiquity, unless one passage, very doubtful as to locality, be admitted. 3rd. It must have been fully known to the Romans, as Roman pottery and other remains attest. Yet it is not mentioned by them. To these points a fourth may be added, viz.: That it occupies a very central position amongst the great sepulchral memorials of the ancient British people and the site was possibly a sacred

locality of a still earlier race. On the first of these points my opinion is exactly opposed to that of Mr. Cunnington, who considered that "the grand erection was first made, and the smaller circle and oval of inferior stones were raised at a later period, for," he continues, "they add nothing to the general grandeur of the temple, but rather give a littleness to the whole, and more particularly so if you add the two small trilithons of granite." It is more natural to suppose that as we go back into the times of primitive occupation the smaller stones would be erected, and the larger when wealth and power were more at command. The material of the smaller stones approximates to and is of the class generally used by the earlier settlers. Roman roads lead to the neighbourhood, and Roman pottery and relics have been found. I will only notice on this point that the silence of Latin writers is remarkable. It may be observed here that the handling of the larger stones appears unlike that of any monument of Celtic erection in Brittany or Britain. I have been led to form some conclusions on Stonehenge and Avebury by results of an expedition lately prosecuted by me in the Mediterranean, where in some of the islands I have found monuments which appear to me, though hitherto quite undescribed, to throw much light on these structures, if not, indeed, to present analogues of construction, with additions, which, I believe, are as without example as the great Wiltshire monuments themselves. These consist of enormous *enceintes* of Cyclopean walls within which are lofty conical erections capable of supporting a vast concourse of persons externally, and many of which are clearly connected with a part in each of such *enceintes* devoted to solemn rites. These reserved parts are, when the wall has not been destroyed, always surrounded by an inner enclosure. Within these latter are the remains of circles of monoliths, in the centre of which, as a rule, is a lofty table or altar composed of a large block resting horizontally on an oblong, placed vertically, and forming the letter T, the *tau*. In some cases a third stone is erected, and this has a rude cap-stone—it cannot be called a capital; these are rare in the present condition of these remains; they appear apparently symbolic—in short, this and the *tau* represent the two chief symbols of Phœnician worship. The stone tables are very

remarkable, a vast and heavy cap-stone, frequently 12ft. long by 3ft. wide and 2ft. thick, carefully fashioned, and always in the same form, is poised on a vertical oblong, about 9ft. wide, and only 1ft. thick, standing out of the ground 9ft., presenting a square superficies of a thin slab to the sight; there is no cement, nor any mortise, and yet I ascended, with other persons, on to the cap-stone without causing the least oscillation. In one case, however, at what was evidently the grand temple, the horizontal stone of the chief table has a mortise, into which the upright is inserted as a tenon, and this is so adroitly done, although, evidently, not wrought with iron tools, but merely battered with stone implements, that a slight touch of the hand causes vibration, though the stone is perfectly safe, and the natives assert that it vibrates constantly in a high wind. Here we have an approach to the mortise and tenon system of Stonehenge, the only example I am aware of. In several cases, at remote distances, in the islands, are found the upright columns, with rude caps, arranged in the form of the trilithons of Stonehenge, though with the cap-stones, and a rude transverse block or lintel above, forming a construction of five stones, in lieu of three. Locally these are called dolmens, and, in several instances, there are pure trilithons, or one block resting on two uprights. The great *enceintes* generally contain three vast conical erections, apparently intended for different purposes; some are solid with an external ascent, clearly watch-towers, or serving also, it may be, as places whence the ceremonies in the sacred enclosure might be observed; some are hollow, with doorways high up above the ground, indicating places of refuge or depositories for valued articles; there are others again the purposes of which are less apparent. The grand temple, surrounded on all sides, and at distances of some miles, by these lofty cones, is in the form of a pyramid, with the angles rounded off, an immensely strong structure, and not dissimilar in the size of its enormous blocks and the thickness of its walls, to the well-known Cyclopean works at Tiryns, in Greece; many of the stones are 9ft. long by 3ft. to 5ft. thick. Within the walls is a semi-circular chamber, with its base to the south, arranged in tiers of stones, in form of a Greek theatre; Æschylos, who wrote before Greek theatres were built of stone (see

Pausanias, Suidas and others), refers, in Agamemnon, l. 503, to the gods seated on thrones *facing the sun*, and as these remains are older than any Greek erection, we may have here a reference to this structure or to some of which this was an example, the models, perhaps, from which the Greek theatres were designed. The building is about 80ft. square at the base, has been about 60ft. high, and the entrance to the hall is about 20ft. from the ground, to which height the building appears to be solid, the floor being at that level. Whatever purpose Silbury Hill served, any one of these structures would fulfil. East of this pyramidal structure are the remains of an early city, not unlike the walls of Tre 'r Caeri, on Yr. Eifl mountains, near Snowdon. The defending wall to this pyramid, guarding also the sacred enclosure and the city, is 14ft. thick and 10ft. high in its present ruinous condition, has a number of deep recesses, like the Pelasgic portals at Norba, in Italy, and one like the remarkable one at Phigalia in Greece, and is formed of stones, some of which measure 15ft. in length, and resembles, in the greatness of its dimensions, the vast Cyclopean wall at Samothrace, illustrated by me in the *Builder* from a drawing made by me in that island. In tumuli, *near* this old city, evidences of cremation have been found, apparently showing that the conical erections were not sepulchral. There are other widely different, but equally remarkable structures, but I confine myself in this paper to the above. In the Island of Minorca alone, although at a distance of thirty miles from each other, and with a range of mountains between, even the extremely remote and all the intervening remains of this kind could have almost instantaneous communication with each other, as tested by me; and I believe a careful survey of the district between Stonehenge and Avebury would show that either by ancient barrows or natural heights communications could be made between these places. Excavations near these structures have, as at Stonehenge, and at Carnac, in Brittany, produced Roman remains, though it need hardly be said the structures are not Roman. It is, however, clear they were known to the Romans. One very curious point arises here. In the Island of Minorca, near to the great port, Mahon (so named from a Carthagenian general Mago), the stone

tables are of larger dimensions, more careful workmanship, and apparently, unlike the others, wrought with metal tools, although the conical structures near them are not so important, all the appearances are those of later and more careful construction, and it is near these that the largest quantity of Roman remains have been found. With the politic and conciliatory custom of the Romans in adopting the worship of the respective localities they governed, these later stone tables appear to be identical as restorations of previously existing and possibly of then decaying monuments; in short, on a more magnificent scale, of altars, or deities, or both, as the case may be. In such case they assume the precise condition of the more vast portion of Stonehenge. The smaller circle, and the two small trilithons, clearly show the nature of the earlier structure, and the Roman occupation of the locality shows the interest the Romans felt in it. The principle of wrought stone monuments is not British, still less so the mortise and tenon, though the latter was clearly known to the constructors of the ancient monuments in the Mediterranean islands just described, and it is highly probable that rude stone structures, long since removed in Spain, Africa, or Gaul, may have suggested this method to the Romans, and it is possible that an ancient race, coming to Britain in remote times, may have left rude examples of such constructions in some of the smaller trilithons, long since perished. My impression is, that as the Romans consolidated their power by alliance with, and granting freedom to, the nobles of the countries they governed; as they considered the worship of the local deities of other lands meritorious, and no abrogation of, nor detraction from the honours claimed for their own deities of Rome, they could show this in no more comprehensive way than by restoration or augmentation of that temple in Britain, which was in the centre of the deceased nobility of the land, and in the vicinity of what was clearly the great wardmote or gathering place of the British at Avebury. On the other hand, there is evidence enough to show both in the mortise and tenon construction, and in the vastness of the stones (although those of Stonehenge are smaller than the great monoliths in Brittany), that the artificers, or at least

designers, of even the later parts may have been of Phœnician origin, or at least of their date, the monuments of the Baleares being Pelasgic of the oldest type. The Pelasgi were a people with whom the Phœnicians were in communication, and all the features of Stonehenge and Avebury have analogues in the islands between the African continent and Europe. In any case that Stonehenge is not a purely British structure is clear. Dr. James Fergusson, who is not fond of attributing great antiquity to any monuments, allows that the remains on the Balearic Islands may be coeval with the period of the Trojan War. Having repeatedly examined the route of the ancient traffic in tin through Gaul, I feel clear in stating that they seem to follow a line from Africa, where several trilithons exist, through Gaul, and then by the Atlantic shore and islands to Britain, a trilithon being found on the coast in Brittany at St. Nazaire and one in the Ile D'Ousëssant. They are rare in any case, but examples are to be found on the old route of tin traffic, or near it. A fine trilithon is figured in one of Cambry's plates, in in the Department de l'Isere, on the Rhone. Dr. Fergusson admits the art of the construction (*i.e.*, the design) may have travelled from Africa to Ireland, and thence to Wiltshire, in which, as to the smaller and original structure, I think he is right. I assume that he means that persons having practice in construction of this kind brought such knowledge with them. The only authors who have written on these remains, except on some isolated examples, are the Count de la Marmora and Don Juan Ramis. The former states that ill-health prevented his examining these monuments except in a few instances, of which he gives examples. The latter does not even appear to me to have made personal inspections. To these facts I attribute the very incorrect drawings and deficiency in statements respecting them. The only two Englishmen in Majorca—there are no resident English in Minorca—were the British Consul, son of Dr. Mure, the well-known writer on Greek classical history, and Mr. Waring, an engineer, nephew of Mr. Waring, the antiquary. The latter, in making excavations, had found some curious Roman remains, but neither gentleman had investigated the ancient remains. I received great kindness from both, and much assistance from Mr.

Mure, and in Minorca from several of the wealthy residents, who took an interest in my researches.

At Ciudadella, the capital of Minorca, I was politely received in the *Cása de Ayuntamiénto* by the Alcálde, Don Gaspar J. Saura, who, with great politeness, procured me a Minorcan acquainted with the country districts, there being no guides, and the inhabitants of one end of the island seeming to know nothing of the other end, nor of anything in the island except in their own local districts. I received much attention from some of the leading families—Don Francisco Segui, Don Juan Pons Y Soler, and from Mr. Vanreel, of Port Mahon, and Don Nicholas Salas, of Ciudadella.

Many of the remarkable objects I visited were undescribed in any books, Spanish or English.

Classical history gives us little information either on Cyclopean structures generally, or on those in these islands in particular; nor does it inform us much concerning the inhabitants of the Baleares. On the term Cyclopean, the celebrated German writer, Kruse, informs us that the word had reference to the circular buildings of the Pelasgi, which terminated in points where there were circular apertures, and hence their name originated from the circular form of their buildings (κύκλος), and the round opening at the top (ὤψ) an eye, which it resembled. Several authors—Cæsar, Virgil, Ovid, Diodorus, and others, speak of the inhabitants as skilful slingers, and hence they are called Baleares, from βάλλω, to throw, and the word βάλλειν is applied to them: Bochart, however makes it Punic, but uses the word Baal not as God or Lord, but master, thus:—Baal-Jare, a master at throwing. The Greeks called these islands Gymnesiæ, because the inhabitants went naked in summer. This is still so on a large estate managed by Mr. Waring, an English engineer. I was assured that there in another month the workmen would be entirely without clothing.

Of the extraordinary remains in Minorca we have absolutely no historic information; the masonry indicates that they are Cyclopean of the oldest type, while that of the Nurhags of Sardinia, with which many suppose they agree, is often in courses, of wrought or well-trimmed stone. The grand feature of the Nurhage is also

wanting in the Baleares, viz., the spiral staircase or ramp, which is found also in the brocks of Scotland. The plan of the grandest structure in Minorca is square at the base, and forms a pyramid, of which there is no example in Sardinia. In this building the angles are rounded, as before described.

There is historic reference to the Nurhags of Sardinia, and even their builder, Iolaus, is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, but the antiquity of the remains in Minorca is lost in the mist of ages, or referred to the time of the very oldest of the mythological deities, Saturn.

I find a quotation from Homer, and also from Pindar, which I have had not had time to verify, that there was a place in the Balearides, supposed to have been the palace of Saturn. I can imagine no place more suitable for this description than what I have called the grand temple.

The works of Iolaus in Sardinia are described in a way to prevent mistake, and they are found to-day as then described—with the domes or θόλοι beautifully designed. There are some portions of these Nurhags which appear of an earlier period, and these may have been of the date of the towers in Minorca, as they are very rude, and from these Iolaus probably designed and improved and produced the present Nurhage, adding the staircase.

The chambers which were large in the older structures, are much smaller in the Nurhage. The first appear to have been used to protect wheat, when it was a very precious article of commerce, and when pirates, who existed from time immemorial in the Mediterranean, sought their booty in that article; and the smaller chambers in the Nurhage were clearly, as found by the Count de la Marmora, used for depositing ornaments of the precious metals, and other smaller valuables, thus acting as treasuries.

The number of Nurhags in Sardinia, is said to be unaccountable, but the historian goes on to say, Iolaus divided the land by lot, and no doubt each lord had his special tower, as seems to have been the earlier custom in the Balearic islands. He reports also that in time of danger the inhabitants of Sardinia sought refuge not in the towers but in caves. This appears also to have been a custom

before the Nurhage were built, and may have been connected with the older structures in Sardinia, as every old tower in Minorca still has a cave close to it.

The remains in Minorca again, differ altogether from the Nurhags of Sardinia, by having, as a part of them, the stone tables, said to be for sacrifice, and the circles of monoliths, already described, neither of which are found in Sardinia. If they existed previously, they were probably removed on the coming of Iolaus, and the new comers introduced their own religion. Another special class of monuments in Minorca differs altogether from anything in Sardinia. These are vast ships built of stone of an immense age, as proved by their masonry.

Though not an archæological subject, I cannot omit, while making a digression from the Talyots—the name given to the conical structures in Minorca—giving some notice of the beautiful effects of the *cueva de la Hermita* in the larger island.

The entrance to this cave is at a considerable elevation on the coast, which being attained the descent is easy. The dimensions are unusual, and the inspection occupies some hours. At intervals Bengal lights are burned, when a view opens which puts even the elegant tracery of Gothic and Moorish architecture aside. Long lines of light straight and uniform columns, seem to multiply the effects of Westminster Abbey, while there is hardly a form, from magnificent organs, to pulpits, side chapels, and even mural monuments, that the eye does not figure to itself as realities. In my former papers before different societies I have endeavoured in some slight degree to represent on diagrams the extraordinary effects of the carbonate of lime deposits, but here power seems to fail from the vastness and beauty of the effects, and the transitory period of lighting up at different stages of the way; the variety and detail of what I can hardly help calling the architectural devices is beyond description, and the most extraordinary feature is that all seems in proportion, and columns as lofty as those of Westminster Abbey are of uniform thickness in the shafts, and swell out in foliation at their extreme height, while there is also a great uniformity in their distances. The progress of the stalactitic formation has evidently been

arrested for centuries here, though still going on slightly in the caves of Minorca.

The word Talyots, from the Spanish *atalâya*, watch tower, is admitted by the well-informed on the island to be a modern term applied to these structures by the Minorcans, but to have no significance, though it seems not far from the purpose. My investigations lead me to believe that these places were depôts of valuable articles of commerce, in which the Phœnicians traded, that in short they became the great depôts of Carthage, though probably established long before the settlement of that city. The cult of Astarte, under the form of the crescent, is more beautifully illustrated in Minorca than in probably any other place, by the delicate curves of the stone ships—a ship being also her emblem as as well as that of Isis, while the numerous *taus* multiply the three-membered cross (T) of Tyre.

One more reference to the points connecting these structures with those in Britain. The trilithon seems to have come direct from Africa, as stated; and examples are still found in this district, as at Marlborough. They seem to me less the construction of Phœnicians than of a people conveyed to Britain by them. In addition to the examples I have quoted of trilithons on the old tin-traffic route, one of the very remarkable stones, already described as having a rude cap-stone, is figured by Cambry, in the locality of the trilithon I have referred to as given by him in the Department of Isere. It exactly resembles those of Minorca.

On the question of the two periods of erection for the structure at Stonehenge I do not assume this alone *because* the materials and dimensions differ; I give simply as a fact that they do; but *because* the handling or workmanship belongs to two ages widely separated. The smaller stones are certainly not local, and are generally considered to have been brought to Britain; upon this I offer no opinion, but, for the following reasons, I believe their erectors, if Phœnician, would have considered them desecrated by the larger ones. They belong to that remote age when no tool of metal was to be used on a sacred monument; the larger to a rude age, but one laboriously striving after art, however primitive—an age such as

would be when the ancient Britons, just beginning to be educated by the Romans, would have given their ready hands and sturdy thews pliantly to the mental suggestion of those teachers, and that they were wrought by metallic tools is evident.

Now this is just what I have illustrated of the remains in the Baleares. There is a distinct difference of date in the monuments there. The older and more curious have been clearly stone-hammered; the latter, which I look on as Roman restorations, have a precision which indicates the chisel. Near the latter, in particular as already mentioned, many Roman remains have been found, as well as at Stonehenge.

The Phœnicians, as I have shown in the *British Archæological Journal,* were less a nation than a race of leaders like the Normans. They took into their service, often by force, people of any nation, but always when they could of the higher and intellectual ones. The minor Jewish prophets bitterly complain of their kidnapping the Jewish youth and selling them to the early Greeks or Pelasgi, and others. But they were a purely maritime people; they had their settlements on islands and coasts, not inland, still less so where no metallic source existed. Therefore, while I admit the possibility, I think it most improbable, that the larger construction is Phœnician. The Roman works near Stonehenge, not alone for war, but for great solemnities, being grander than any others of the kind in Britain, indicate that here the Romans and Britons met on great occasions; while there are no Cyclopean or Pelasgic works nearer than Devonshire and Cornwall. Other evidence with which I cannot trouble you leads still more conclusively in the same direction.

But one example of such further evidence appears to me very conclusive. The cap-stones at Stonehenge are of a peculiar form, they are slightly wedge-shaped, *i.e.*, wider at the upper or sky side, a form precisely agreeing with all the horizontal stones, supported on other stones, whether such supports are monoliths or otherwise, in Minorca; and it appears to me that as every form and outline of the older structures has been preserved, in what I consider the Roman restorations in Minorca, this feature at Stonehenge is only a retention of form of older cap-stones, whether of trilithons or other structures.

The almost square base of the grand temple in Minorca, approaches—notwithstanding its rounded corners—to the rectilinear, if not rectangular, style of Cyclopean work in Samothrace, one of the oldest examples, and probably of the time of the Cabiri in that island. There is so much resemblance in the accounts of the Cabiri and the Cyclopes that the mere distance in their occupation, the one of the eastern the other of the western islands in the Mediterranean, is sufficient to account for the difference of identification.

As these monuments are so unlike any elsewhere known to exist, I have thought it right, not only to exhibit drawings, made on the spot, but photographs of some of them.

Dr. Phené then explained the many interesting views with which the various objects of his lecture were illustrated on the wall of the assembly-room, and concluded with a few remarks on other relics of the past to be found in Minorca. Alluding to the previous night's lecture on "the Viking's Ship," he said the interest in it fell far short of what was found there. For in Minorca, as the photographs represented, were perfect ships, quite as large, built of stone, in vast blocks, in which the masts were represented in their insertion into the keel, and the whole design was as complete as in Scandinavia. But the stone ships in Minorca are all inverted.

The monuments themselves, as shown by the photographs, and compared with photographs of the earliest Cyclopean masonry of Greece, and that of Samothrace, discovered by Dr. Phené, and published in the *Builder* from his drawings, are found to be of the very earliest type. They assimilate more to the most ancient circular structures in Etruria than to any other remains.

Earl Nelson said they were very much indebted to Dr. Phené for his very interesting lecture, which had been made the more interesting by the beautiful illustrations which they saw before them. The noble earl then invited discussion, and called on Mr. William Cunnington to say a few words.

Mr. Cunnington said he considered Dr. Phené's paper was the most important which had been read for a long time on Stonehenge, for there seemed to be many points of analogy between what had been described by Dr. Phené and Stonehenge. It was his grandfather's

opinion that the large stones at Stonehenge were the original stones, but his own opinion was the reverse. There were a great many points to which he might refer in connection with the paper they had heard, but he did not then feel able to enlarge upon them.

Mr. Picton said he had listened with very great pleasure to Dr. Phené's paper. Dr. Phené had treated the subject in a very clear manner, and he thought his views were accurate and convincing. There was a striking analogy between the circle shewn on the photograph before them and Stonehenge. He agreed with the previous speakers that the large stones were erected after the smaller ones, and he expressed an opinion that they might have been placed there by the Britons after they had learnt mechanical skill from the Romans, and it was possible that they had the help of the Romans in mortising them.

Mr. W. Cunnington pointed out that the most important point in connection with the smaller stones of Stonehenge was the fact that in no part of Great Britain was there any stone to be found of the same description. The nearest sort of stone to them was that near Edinburgh. Professor Maskelyne and others had examined them most minutely, and it was absolutely clear that there were three or four sorts of stone at Stonehenge which did not exist in England.

Dr. Phené said that Dr. Fergusson got over the difficulty, for he suggested the direct course of the design at least was from Africa; and in proof of the fact that sacred stones had been brought from abroad in ancient times, Dr. Phené gave a description of a piece of Assyrian sculpture, which, he said, had been dug up on the estate of Lord Mount Edgcumbe in Devonshire, pointing out that, for his own part, he saw nothing improbable in the Phœnicians, or those associated with them, bringing their gods to lands where they effected settlements, and that the worship of such stones by many nations in early times was undisputed.

Earl Nelson then wound up the discussion, and expressed a hope that it would be resumed on the spot the following day.

Details of an Address

Delivered by Dr. PHENÉ to the Geologists' Association,

At Stonehenge, on the 18th of April, 1881.

AS my address at Devizes, in August last, has led you to call on me to act as your Director on this occasion, I think it as well—the subject being one of broad interest, and indeed of research—not to go over the same arguments, as they will be published in the *Wiltshire Magazine* for this year, but to give some reasons beyond those expressed by me on that occasion for the probability of the views I then advanced.

The sublime structure in which we are assembled consists of monuments of, I think, two æras, with a vast lapse of ages between, and while the more recent is hoary with almost decades of centuries, the older indicates a multiple of the date of the more modern by a figure, the magnitude of which it is difficult to fix.

To interest you as geologists in the matter I may point out that various controversies have arisen on the nature of the stones, and while I leave this as a matter for your own investigation to determine, a point arises from it of no small interest, viz., that the smaller stones, which I think are undoubtedly the older, are not local, while the larger and more recent are, though I believe the composition of both varies (*i.e.*) neither all the larger nor all the smaller stones will be found corresponding exactly with each other. As microscopical sections of the smaller stones can be seen in London, and as the composition of the larger or sarsen stones is well known, it is earnestly hoped that no one will injure any of these relics with the hammer wielded by most of you so usefully on the rocks. There is only one possibility, I think, which could make the smaller stones indirectly geologically local, and that is that they were wrought from deposited boulders, but it is hardly credible that just so many boulders should

have existed on this spot. They were clearly not wrought with such tools as the larger stones were wrought with, and the objects of the constructors with the larger stones would certainly not be to seek the remote districts of our mountain-ranges for small ones, when large ones were within reach, and it was with large ones they were dealing.

Referring to the grander edifice first, and avoiding the strange suggestion of Inigo Jones that this was a Roman Doric temple, it will be well to remember that the Romans were at least great copyists, they were not inventors in construction, save in brick-work, but in architecture borrowed, most cleverly adapted, and often amalgamated, the ideas of the nations they conquered.

We cannot doubt that we stand in a great temple. Admit that, and you see a rude outline of the Pantheon and the temple of Vesta at Rome, or the temple of the winds and the choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens. Nay, the mind wanders on to Santa Sophia, to many a Mahomedan mosque with a circular support as well as dome; to the most sacred temples of India, China, and even of Mexico; and to the Renáissance of the same idea in the Churches of the Templars.

There must have been ancient examples of circular temples from which the Greeks and Romans copied.

But if no such examples had been known before, the Romans would have found them abundantly in Britain.

In this neighbourhood it is only necessary to instance what appears to me the much older structure of Avebury, a temple too that answers to the ancient description of the circular temple of the Hyperboreans, even more closely than Stonehenge, and where distinct audiences to the performances described could be gathered within the circle of the temple. The position and working of the stones forming the impost of the great circle at Stonehenge, I take to be so entirely Roman that it is easy to see how they misled Inigo Jones.

But in my address at Devizes I mentioned that in my recent examinations of monuments in the Mediterranean islands I found similar lithic arrangements still existing in some of them, notably in that of Minorca. Not only are there circular walls, enclosing

areas, like the external fosse we see here, not only circles of upright monoliths, like the circle of the more ancient stones of this structure, but stones superimposed on upright stones, forming bilithons, trilithons, and pentalithons; the two latter evidently being solemn ways of ingress to some sacred rite or position, as was the doorway of a temple. Trilithons are found in Africa, in the Balearic Islands, and along the route of an unknown people who, probably even before the foundation of Rome, conveyed overland, through Gaul, the metallic products of Britain and its isles, and they apparently terminate northwards where we now stand, and in the adjoining district of Marlborough. They seem the evidences of a distinct and peculiar race, as in one route only, (*i.e.*, the route of the tin traffic through Gaul from Britain to the mouth of the Rhone and thence to Africa) is this peculiar indication of a temple found. I think the suggestions of former antiquaries, that there existed here an oval arrangement of trilithons of the older stones, were correct.

Of the older structure there is nothing like it in this part of Britain, either in material or arrangement, the circles at Avebury being of vast masses of stone, which are not of columnar form. The only locality in the south, where there is an approximation to it, is the great Devonian promontory with its projecting westward horn, Cornwall, and even there stones such as these, I think, are not geologically local.

There are so many traditions of the conveyance of sacred stones from place to place, and even to these islands, that it is at least no new idea that they may have been imported by holders of a faith conveyed to these islands by, or as, new settlers, and if so they would have had a special reverence, but it is evident they are foreign to this locality and if their local origin be Wales or Cornwall that will answer all I propose for your consideration.

We have no other example of a number of monoliths being brought into the plains of England. The people of the hill country and the people of the plains are still distinct; and the further we go back in time the more strongly were the diverse features marked, in race, in religion, customs, and bearing. What then brought these stones *here?* I have pointed out that there is a vast period between the

dates of their forming a temple, and the formation of the temple by the larger stones—but I did not say of their forming a temple *here*. As to whether they have been conveyed to Britain by man for a religious, or for any purpose, I must leave others to decide; but I have no doubt they were conveyed to *this spot* for an important purpose; they were clearly brought and placed simultaneously. It is evident this is a long way out of their usually selected location, which, whether in the Balearic Islands, Brittany, or Cornwall, is always on the coast; or when inland, as in Cumberland or Scotland, is confined to the regions of similar people of the mountain districts.

Was there any event which would make a locality hereabouts a spot for meeting? Originally the sea traffic in British tin was round Spain to Tyre; then, after the Phœnicians were suppressed, it was conveyed to the mouth of the Loire, and thence, by a carrying tribe (which probably existed before the time of the Phœnicians, and with which the latter themselves traded prior to their discovering the passage to the Atlantic), to the mouth of the Rhone, and thence to Africa, of which Carthage subsequently became the depôt, as the Baleares had first been.

But the whole Channel Fleet, British and Continental, a fleet of magnificent ships, as Cæsar himself testifies, not generally, but minutely, was summoned to join the naval force of the Veneti off the coast, where the other great lithic monument of Europe—Carnac —overlooks the sea. Cæsar destroyed the fleet.

I have shown in the British Archæological Journal for the March quarter of 1878, vol. xxxiv., the consequences of the destruction of this fleet, and I now submit to you this further point. I have shown that Cato having criticised Cæsar in the Senate, on a point in which the armour of his knights was indirectly involved—the Roman armour being hardened with tin, Cæsar really came to Britain to re-establish the traffic in and the transit of tin, which he had destroyed with that fleet, as an evidence of which a new route for that material through northern Gaul was established. Cæsar states that he levied a tribute on the Britons, and Strabo asserts that he returned from Britain with "*great booty.*" Now we know that the natives had nothing to pay in but *tin*, for his ships could not have

taken flocks and herds or grain, and Strabo says tin and lead were their articles of exchange for what was required from the continent.

But Cæsar did not land in or near Cornwall, but in the south-east, where there was no tin. But tin was his object, and to get rid of him the people of the south would readily have sent flocks and herds into Cornwall, or, in haste, hostages for their delivery, just as they gave hostages to Cæsar, I have no doubt, for the delivery of tin to him. The Cornish trade being stopped, the natives would be only too glad to hear of a revival, and a new channel of commerce, and no delay would have occurred in despatching the ore. But the people of the south-east would be as averse to give their reasons for wanting the tin, as Cæsar was to giving his to the Senate, and no doubt they invented as ingenious excuses for their requirements, as he did to the Senate for the invasion of Britain. In his commentaries he suggests that he attacked Britain to suspend succours thence to the Gauls; but he had already done this by the destruction of the fleet. From Suetonius and Pliny we learn, what they could only have obtained through Cæsar, that he pretended his object was to procure British pearls for the altar of Venus.

In this state of things a place of rendezvous became indispensable, a sacred spot where the oaths of the contracting parties would be effective. For the people of the south and east Avebury would suffice as a place for solemn contract. But the people of the far west must equally engage and swear on their sacred stones or in one of their own temples. To do this a temple, probably the most or one of the most sacred, must be transported. And here—as was the old Phœnician custom—they could deposit their tin ore, and the other side could bring their flocks or corn and leave them in payment. This Phœnician custom still exists, in some of the trade ports of the Erythrean Sea—now the Indian Ocean.

If we may assume such a case as this and that these smaller stones were so transported here, we can readily understand that when the Romans came to settle in the island, and whether or not they became acquainted with the cause of the institution, this would become the great spot for communication with the people of the east and west, and that here the Romans would do honour to the country by

instituting games, and raising as an honorary edifice a grand imitation of what they found existing, in which both the people of the plain and hill country might from time to time swear fealty, and renew their pledges of good faith.

It would be less a revival of the old British religion which they had destroyed, than a concession to prejudices and feelings, and perhaps a permission to worship among the deities of Rome, the local tutelary deities of the land; and would accord with the Roman custom of doing homage to the local deities by an appropriation of their worship, or an election of those deities among their own.

No other spot in Britain contains such evidences of Roman public assemblage as this shown by the cursus, a magnificent work, evidently formed to honour the use of the British chariot, and being much larger than the Roman stadium, and in selecting a spot they would have chosen that one of all others where the greatest assemblage of the different tribes took place, which Avebury on the one hand and this, as it seems to me, Phœnician temple on the other indicate would be the locality.

It is curious also that in this view of the case the confusion of identity of the island Ictis or Vectis (now Wight), as the spot to which the tin was transported by the new route, and the description of the island of St. Michael's Mount under the above name, as though the two were one, becomes clear. The first so used being the old depôt for Brittany, the last for the northern coast of Gaul.

If weight is to be given to the asserted burials of the highest persons among the Romans, as well as the Britons, at this place, we can hardly suppose on that ground alone that the Romans would have failed to augment the original temple.

The removal of the bishopric from Sherborne to Old Sarum, and the intense interest the clergy exhibited in the locality, shows a somewhat similar disposition to conciliate old prejudices on the part of the Norman monarchs, and the importance of Old Sarum in British, Roman, Saxon, and Danish times, shows, that about here lingered old prejudices and feelings, which, being in constant antagonism to the crown, if not indeed to the eastern, or what we now call the English, or Anglo feeling, it was politic to conciliate.

Longleat Papers, No. 6.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson, F.S.A.

(*Continued from Vol.* xix., p. 226.)

Wilts Freeholders, A.D. 1607-8.

"Wiltes.

"The booke of Freeholders for the Countie of Wiltes in the time of Thomas Thynne, Knight, Sheriff of the said countie in the 5th and 6th year of the Reign of James, King of England, &c.

"Alderbury Hundred

William Long of Pytton Esq
William Fawconer of Laverstock Esq
George Thacham of Idmaston gen'
Edward Appleford of Porton gen'
Alexander Thistlethwayte of Winterslowe gen'
William Ryves of Wynterborne, yeoman
Richard Thorneton of Winterborne Dauntsey.
Walter Rice of do.
Roger Marten of Winterborne Earles
Charles Sweevenig of Forde.
Henry Dove of Whaddon gen'
Edmund Dennys of Deane
John Andrewes of West Greenstead
William Wymbleton of Poerton
John Bynder of Idmaston
William Baker of Greensteed
William Stainesbye of Deane
John Dennys of East Greensteed
Thomas Greenwaye of Winterslowe
John Walter of do

"Ambresbury Hundred

Edward Yonge of Little Durnford Esq
Philip Poore of Durington gen'
Edward Milles of Choulston [*Cholderton*], gen'
Leonard Maton of Brigmaston gen'
William Jumper of Normington gen'
Thomas Cowper of Ablington
Robert Woodcock of Didenham * gen'
William Wigg of Shepridge †
John Halfehead of do
William Hide of Hurst, gen' [*Co. Berks*]
John Marshe of do
Hugh Haywarde of Durneford
Richard Carter of do
John Ratte of Ambresbury
William Beckington of West Ambresbury

* Between Swallowfield and Reading, in which part of that county three small districts were formerly outlying portions of Co. Wilts, and were reckoned of the Hundred of Ambresbury.

† Near Wokingham, Berks, now Sheep Bridge or Ship Bridge.

William Greenwood of Winterslowe
John Jones of Newton Tonye, Forester
Gilbert Gyre of do
John Smart of do
John Benjamin of do
Richard Rutter of Cholderton
Richard Judd of do
William Kingston of Lurgashall
Richard Eddington of do
John Prince of Farley Hill [*Co. Berks*]
Thomas Waters of West Ambresbury
Henry Weekes Senr of Allington
William Bundye of Ambresbury
Thomas Myles of Durneford Magna
Thomas Hayward of do
Robert Collman of do
John Cutler of Figgilden
John Waters of Durneford
Thomas Beedle of West Ambresburye
Richard Williams *alias* Carter of Durneford
Stephen Coxe of Allington
Thomas Barnard of Kingston Deverell
Henry Batt of do
John Feltham of Farley Hill [*Co. Berks*]
John Fulker of do do
Francis Brownesmith of do. do
George Blunt of Shipridge do
John Crowcher of Swallowfield do
William Bould of Hurst do
Francis Speckett of do do
Oliver Hide of do do
John Merifield of do do
John Newberye of do do
Richard Mathewe of do do
William Planer of Wokingham do
William Ilsley of do do
Ralph Spurr of Twyford do

"Bradford Hundred

William Eyres of Chalfield K^t^
John Hall of Bradford Esq
William Pawlett of Cottilles Esq
Edward Longe of Monckton Esq
John Yewe of Bradford gen'
John Baylie of Winckfield gen'
William Gore of Broughton
John Yerburye of Atworth
Michael Cuffe of Broughton
John Earle of Holte
Richard Horne of Bradford
Walter Yerbury do
Thomas Lovell do
Philip Grant do
Henry Davys do
Richard Baylie of Bradford Leigh
John Baylie do
Roger Deverell of Franklyne
John Mysen of Wraxall
John Moxham of Atworth
Robert Crooke of Wraxall
William Kinge of Monckton Farley
John Grant of Weeke [*Farley Wick*]
William Walter of Rowley
John Blanchard of Budburye
Thomas Pinchin of Atworth
John Dicks of Bradford

"Branch and Dole Hundred

Richard Grubham of Wilshford Kt
William Baumfeild of Fulston, Kt
Giles Mompesson of Bathampton Esq
John Longe of Tilshead
John Hill of do
Francis Harding of Urston Mary [*Orcheston St. Mary*] gen'
William Golesborowe of Shrewton gen'
William Barlowe of Newport
Adam Snowe of Winterbourne Stoke
John Compton of Fisherton Anger gen'
John Everley of Wilye

John Plentye do
John Merrytt of Hanging Langford
Nicholas Mussell of Steeple Langford
John Peasley of South Newton
William Frauncis of Barwick St James
Robert Wanesburye of Shrewton
William Phillipps of Urston Mary
George Symes of South Newton
William Pottycarye of Wilye
John Maye of Steple Langford
Robert Wodam of Wilshford
William Acrigg of Stapleford
Robert Sedgewicke of Wilshford
John Randall of Fisherton
Nicholas Mussell of Langford

"Bromham Liberty

Andrew White of Bromham gen'
Thomas Eyre do
Ferdinando Hughes do
Thomas Parradice do
John Slade do
William Webbe do
William Steevens do
Robert Keynes do
William Northen of Rowde
Richard Filkes do

"Calne Hundred

John Ernely of Whetham Kt
George Hungerford of Blackland gen'
Ambrose Mortymer of Stockley gen'
John Goddard of Barwick Bassett gen'
John Norborne of Studley gen'
Matthew Smyth of Blackland gen'
Richard Mandrell of Compton
Thomas Browne of Stockley
William Townesend of Heddington
Walter Seger *alias* Parsons of Maningshill
John Hiscocks of Coulston
William Harrys of Quemerford
Nicholas Longe of Stockley
John Brodefield of Cherell
Thomas Pountney Junr do
William Ralfe of Manningshill
Henry Chevers of Quemerford
Stephen Orrell of Sprayes
Henry Rogers of Heddington
John Scott do
Roger Scott do
Robert Scott do
John Longe do
John Stapleford of Cherehill
John Phelpes do
Robert Cripps of Barwick Basset
Andrew Cripps do
William Blackmore do
Walter Nicholas of Calne
Robert Forman do
William Forman do
Benedict Allen do
John Horton do

"Cannings Episcopi Hundred

John Drewe of Devizes gen'
John Unnyon of Horton gen'
Robert Nicholas of Coate gen'
Thomas Sloper of Burton
John Sloper of Horton
John Woodroffe of Coate
John Weston do
William Sloper of Easton
Michael Mason of Burton
Ralph Hollowaye of Highway
Thomas Cooke of Canninges gen' senex
John Nicholas of Roundway
William Harrold of Bupton gen'

"Cawdon and Cadworth Hundred

Thomas Gorges of Langford [*Longford*] Kt
John Webbe of Odstock Kt
Thomas Gawen of Hurcott Esq
George Staples of Fovant gen'
David Feltham of do
Richard Charford do
William Lucas do
Robert Panter of Sutton Maundfield [*Mandeville*]
John Carpenter of Barford S[t] Martins
William Langley of West Harnham
Richard Chappell of Fovant
Nicholas Hayter of Barford S[t] Martin's...Dead, 80 years old.

"Chalk Hundred

Thomas Penruddocke of Chalke Kt
John Clifton of Berwick St John Esq
John Sayntlowe of Knighton Esq
Edmund Chadwell of Ebsbourne gen'
Antony Browne of Brode Chalke gen'
William Grove of Gurston [*Girardston*] gen'
Edward Woods of Tollard Royal gen'
William Goddard do
John Penney of Brode Chalke gen'
Henry Good do
Alexander Curtys do
Edward Bennett of Gerardeston
John Shergall [*Shergold*] of Burr Chalk [*Bower Chalke*]
John Abbott of Semley
Walter Thorne do
William Clement *alias* Browne do
William Jey [? *Ivie*] of Brode Chalke
Robert Topp of Birdmore gen'
John Randall of Mulson [*Mouse-hill* or *Mount-Sorrel*]
John Penney of Stoke Farthing [*Verdon*]

"Chippenham Hundred

Henry Bayntun of Bremhill Kt
Thomas Snell of Kington [*St. Michael*] Kt
George Ivye of West Kington Kt
Gilbert Prynne of Allington Kt
John Hungerford of Cadenham Kt
Edward Read of Kington St Michael. Extra
William Bayliffe of Monckton Esq
Robert Baynard of Lackham Esq
George Wroughton of Aldrington [*Alderton*] Esq
Thomas Thynne of Bytson [*Biddeston*] Esq
John Scrope of Castle Combe Esq
Edward Gore of Surrenden, Esq
Philip Smyth of Chippenham
John Scott Sen[r] do
Gabriel Goldney do
John Gale Sen[r] do
William Exham do
Thomas Hawkyns do
Thomas Berryman of Stanley
Edmund Stokes of Titherton Lucas gen'
Walter Barrett do
Thomas Cogswell do
John Harrys Jun[r] of Tytherton Calwayes
William Rashwood of Calwayes
John Gale of Bulhide's [*at Allington*]
William Scott of Foxham
Henry White of Langley Burrell
John Slade do
Isaac Gale do
John Gingell do
John Kalye do
John Wastfield do
William Lewes do
Robert Baker of Cockleborow
Robert Denche of Sevington
Ferdinando Parrye of Easton Graye gen'

William Adye do
Robert Waters do
John Seaborne of Wilslowe [*Wilsley, in Sherston*]
John Bryan of Sherston Pinckney
John Hayes of Sherston Magna
Richard Franklyn do
John Clerke of Sopworth
Francis James of Luckington
John Vizer of Littleton Drewe
Thomas Jones do
Richard Tirrell of West Kington
Thomas Hort of North Wraxall
Josias Taylor of Eaton [*Yatton*] Keynell
John Harrys do
Christopher Bishopp do
Nicholas Barrett of Uridge [*Yewridge, near Colerne*]
Antony Goslett of Colerne
Matthewe Baylye of Weaverne Mill
Philip Warne of Sherston
John Tileye of Colerne
Antony Bolwell of Dichridge
Henry Longe of Boxe gen'
John Love do
John Baldwyn do
Thomas Sumpsion do
John Thrifte of Rudlowe
Thomas Reeves of Biddeston
Richard Stockwell do
Edward Goddard of Hartham gen'
Henry Hulbert of Sheldon
Drewe Mompesson of Lackham
John Bridges of Kingswood gen'
Hugh Barrett of Tytherton gen'
Charles Aland of Langley Burrell
Ralph Calley do
Nicholas Light of Eaton Keynell

"Damerham [*South*] Hundred

Anthony Ashley of Damerham K^t^
Edward Penruddock of Compton Chamberlayne K^t^
Thomas Horsey of Damerham Esq
John Nicholas of Compton Chamberlayne gen'
Nicholas Lawes of do
Tristram Clerke of Damerham
William Boulton of do
Richard Kinge of do
Walter Martyn of do
Edward Compton of Martyn
Andrew Benbury of Damerham
John Russe of Monkton

[*Damerham (North) is not mentioned in the list.*]

"Downton Hundred

Carew Ralegh of Downton K^t^
Walter Vaughan of Bishopston K^t^
Thomas Chaffyn of Standlinch Esq
William Stockman of Barford Esq
George Mervyn of Upton Esq
William Woburne of Knoyle Episcopi gen'
Thomas Goldesborowe of do
Robert Goldesborowe of do
Thomas Feltham of Fonthill Episcopi
William Smyth of do
James Burbage of do
Thomas Clerke of Bishopston
Thomas Atwaters of do
John Wheeler of Botenham
Edmund Fantstone of Downton
John Fantstone of do
Ambrose Snelgar of do
John Chaffyn of Redlinch gen'
William Brethers of Knoyle
Anthony Burbage of do
William Forde of Hindon shoemaker
John Boddenham of Bishopston gen'
Thomas Smythe of do gen'
John Eastman of Nunton
Rowland Fursbye of Downton
Richard Saunders of Hampworth
Roger Eastman of Charleton
Hugh Noyes of do
John Myles of Knoyle
Thomas Hunton of do gen'
Henry Barnes of Bottenham

"Dunworth Hundred

James Mervyn of Fonthill Kt
Robert Hide of Hatch Esq
William Ley of Teffont Esq
Thomas Bennett of Pytt-House Esq
Antony Pike of Chicklade gen'
Thomas Cope of ——
George Brooke of Stopp yeoman
William Prynne of Sedgehill
Philip Tyce of do yeoman
Richard Kinge do do
Jesper Kinge do do
Edward Frowde do do
Thomas Sadler of Charleton gen'
Edmund Weekes of Dunhead, yeoman
William Barter of Hatche do
Thomas Bower of Dunhead do
John Kinge of Sedgehill do
John Robertes of Swallowcliffe gen'

"Elstub and Everley Hundred

Francis Dowse of Collingbourne Kt
Henry Sadler of Everley Esq
Richard Hunton of Bushton Esq
Richard Dowse of Collingbourne gen'
Thomas Dowse do do
Thomas Hunt of Longstreet do
William Horton of Iford do
John Topp of Stockton Esq
Nicholas Maton do
Christopher Potticarye do
George Reynolds of Everley
Robert Ryves of Hackson
John Ranger senr do
Thomas Hearne of Netheravon
Matthew Clerke of Ham
John Cheney of Everley
Thomas Dismes of Fifield
Thomas Bushell of Nether Aven gen'
Robert Goodale of Chesenburye
Symon Roffe of Compton
Thomas Steevens of Lockeridge
Richard Spencer of Wroughton
Hugh Grove of Chesenbury
Christopher Pytt of Nether Avon
William Coop do
Edward Fuller do
Richard Legg of Nether Avon
Robert Waldron of Henton Parva gen'
Thomas Baylie of Chesenbury senex
John Marshall of Collingbourne
Edward Fowler of Littlecott gen'
John Girle of Longstreet

"Frustfield Hundred

Edward Saint barbe of White Parish Esq
John Stanter of Langford gen'
Thomas Hurst of Whiteparish gen'. Coroner
Thomas Tytchborne of do gen'
Elizeus Thayne of do yeoman. 80 years old
Elizeus Strugnell of do do

"Heytesbury Hundred

Edmund Ludlowe of Hill Deverill Kt
Jasper More of Heytesbury Kt
William Jurdan of Chitterne Kt
Edward Lambert of Boyton Esq
Thomas Mompesson of Corton Esq
Alexander Stanter of Horningsham Esq
Francis Perkins of Bathampton Esq
Christopher Eyre of Codford gen'
Walter Gawen of Imber gen'
Christopher Polden do do
Walter West do
Edward Downe of Urston [*Orcheston*] gen'
Thomas Harrys do
William Merryweather do
George Harrys do
Nicholas Ward do
Richard Smyth of Codford
John Henton of Corton

Edward Gonerson do
Robert Hylman of Upton Lovell
John Chamberlayne of Tytherington
William Bishopp do
Joh Barnabie of Chitterne gen'
Felix Browne do
Edmund Pike of Heytesbury gen'
Thomas Bennett do
John Turner do
Robert Wall do
Walter Poole do
Oliver Molton do
Henry Clyston of Knooke

" Highworth, Cricklade and Staples Hundred

Thomas Warneford of Sevenhampton Esq
Michael Straunge of Somerford Keynes Esq
Giles Fettyplace of Poulton K^t^
William Pledall of Maggatt Mill gen'
William Heycroft of Morden, gen'
William Garrard of Shawe, gen'
Henry Maslyne of Pyrton gen'
Edward Pledall of Cricklade gen'
Mark Cottell of Chelworth gen'
Robert Poore of Lushill gen'
John Pledall of Hampton Turvile gen'
Thomas Arden of do
Thomas Kemble of Grundwell gen'—dead
Francis Kemble of Stratton
John Coxe of Dunfield yeoman
William Coxe, of Ashton Keynes
John Packer of Leigh. senex.
Richard Syms of Heydon, Husbandman
Thomas Hawkyns of Ashton Keynes gen'
Coxe of Purton Stoke
John Clarke of Cricklade yeoman
Robert Kemble of Calcott gen'
Henry Barnard of Cricklade gen'
William Laurence do. do
Richard Trinder of Chelworth
William Morse of Heydon
Roger Morse do
John Rose of Highworth
Edward Sodberye do
Robert Sparrowe do
James Clerke of Shawe
John Cove of Ashton Keynes
Humphrey Curtys of Leigh
Edmund Morse do
Nicholas Saunders of Lydiard Millicent
William Little do
Edward Ferreis of Stratton St Margaret gen'
James Goddard of South Marston gen'
Hercules Burges do
John Munday do
Robert Ringe of Stanton
Thomas Harding of Grundwell
Richard Smythe of Shawe
John Morse of Rodbourne
Edmund Webbe of do, gen'
Nicholas Sodburye of Seavenhampton
Edmund Sherbrooke of do
Richard Shilton of do
Richard Coxe of do
Thomas Sadler of Purton, gen'
Thomas Seveger of do
Thomas Hinton of Latton
John Trinder do
John Pepwell do
John Whiteing of Lyghe
Antony Gleede of Pirton
Robert Telling do
Thomas Stephens *alias* Hawkes do
Richard Iles of Ashton Keynes
Humphrey Blackwell of Easie
John Coxe do
John Eatall of Castle Eaton
Richard Crowden do
Edward Prior do
John Lamborne of Stratton St Margarett
Edward Ayliffe of Easthrop
Thomas Saverye of Hanington
William Burge of Cricklade
Richard Patshall of do, gen'
William Reade of Pirton
Richard Symons of Cricklade

"Kingsbridge, Blagrove and Thornhill Hundred

Edward Long of Lyneham Esq
Henry Quynton of Corton, Esq
Nicholas Stephens of Burderopp Esq
Roger Garrett of Thornhill gen'
John Fysher of Luddington Weeke gen'
William Fysher do
John Brinde of Callys gen'
John Coxe of Wanborough yeoman
William Brynsden of Wootton Basset gen'
William Norrys of do. yeoman
Richard Spencer of Quidhampton gen'
Tobias Richmond of Chaddington gen'
John Parrys of Cottmarshe yeoman
John Parker of Greenehill yeoman
Thomas Maslyn of Woodshawe yeoman
John Skeete of do yeoman
William Lane of Greenhill yeoman
Edward Baynard of Hilmarton gen'
Ambrose Saunders of Hasselhill yeoman
Richard Morse of Bradbery yeoman
Richard Clitter of Ufcott yeoman
Nicholas Richmond *alias* Webbe of Badbery
John Morse of do, yeoman
Henry Fysher of Lydiard Weeke gen'
Charles Pledall of Midgall Esq
Henry Weekes of Chiselden
Nicholas Violett of Swindon gen'
William Sterhall do
William West do
Robert Harding *alias* North, of Badbery
William Jacob of Tokenham Week, yeoman
Browne *alias* Weare of Cancourt
John Gybbes of Badberye

"Kinwardstone Hundred

Alexander Tutt of Oxenwood, K^t
Gabriel Pyle of Collingbourne, gen'
Thomas Goddard of Standen Hussey Esq
Thomas Androwes of Collingbourne, K^t
John Dorrington, do, gen'
John Androwes do gen'
William Dixon do
Edmund Bridges do gen'
John Ivye of Buttermere
Francis Orphane of Fostbury, gen'
Thomas Smyth of Shalborne gen'
John Harding of Pewsey Esq
Henry Pyke of Weeke gen'
Thomas Carye of Milton
Nathaniel Carye do
George Banks do
Edward Goddard of Wotton Weeke Esq
Francis Tompson *alias* Hunt of Burbage
William Ragborne d° senex.
Adam Plott do
Thomas Somersett do
John Bushell of Little Bedwyn
Stephen Biggs do
John Pearson of Newton, gen'
Chidiock Tutt of Chisbury
William Pottinger of Froxfield
Thomas Hynton of Chilton Esq
Richard Sotwell of Chute gen'
Thomas Smyth of Solye
John Savage of Knoyle [*Knowle*]
William Vince of Martin
John Benger of Buckleys gen' senex
Vincent Borne of Shawborne
Richard Polhampton of Chilton—76 years.

"Malmesbury Hundred

Walter Long of Dreycott K^t
Henry Poole of Wookesey [*Oaksey*] K^t
John Warneford of Hankerton Esq
John Ayliffe of Grittenham Esq
Richard Moody of Garsdon, Esq

Simon James of Bradfield gen'
Thomas Ivy of Hullavington, gen'
Richard Earnelye of Sutton Benger gen'. dead
Roger Blake of *Morritt* [? Mauduit's]
Nicholas Archard of Burton Hill gen'
Thomas Riche of Cleverton
Thomas Golding do
Thomas Wayte of Lea
William Clerke of Brinkworth
William Hobbes of Malmesbury
Henry Grayell of Burton Hill
William Earle of Eastcourt
Thomas Hardinge of Crudwell
William Poole of Newnton
William Dyke of Eastcourt
John Browne of Hankerton
Richard Smyth of Charlton
Thomas Light of Easton Percy
Nicholas Light of do
Robert Watts of Hullavington
John Blick do
John Woodroffe of Milbourne
Robert Hort of Foxley
John Scull of Brinkworth
Jeremy Chevers of Lea
William Baylie of Somerford Parva
William Yeawe of Brode Somerford
Thomas Earle of Crudwell
John Earle of do
Henry Pinnell of Brinkworth

"Marlborough Borough

William Bennett Esq
Richard Diggs Esq
John Cornwall gen'
John Walford. baker
Philip Franklyne
Thomas Slatter
Thomas Millington
William Biggs, tanner
John Wythers, bruer
Antony Gunter, glover.

"Melksham Hundred

Henry Viner of Stafferton Weeke K^t^
Ambrose Dauntesey of Melkesham Esq
William Alland do
Thomas Rattye do
Thomas Selfe do
Richard Hayward of Bynniger
John Gearish of Shawe
Edward White do
Robert Bursington of Whitley
Robert Stevens of Woodroffe
Edward Cooke of Woolmer
John Slade of Hilperton
Thomas Smyth do
William Tillinge of Seene [*Seend*]
Symon Dalimer do
John Stokes do
John Somner do
George Somner do
John Lucas do
William Stokes do. senex
John Bailie do
William Gearish do
Edward Usher do
John Flower of Bulkington
John Bishopp of Poulsteed [*Poulshot*]
James Bishopp do
Christopher Wright of Earle Stoke
John Eaton do
George Worth of Bulkington
Richard Trewe of Poulsteed
Henry Heminge of Binniger

"Mere Hundred

William Willoughby of Knoyle Esq
William Chaffyn of Zeayles Esq
Thomas Awberrye of Chadenwich gen'
Christopher Awberye of Burton, gen'
John Coward of Meere Woodlands
Thomas Lucas of Meere
John Forward do
Wolstan Foster do
Thomas Forward do
Thomas Barnard of Kingston. alibi.
Christopher Rediche of Mayden Bradley gen'
Osmund Sheeward do

"Potterne Hundred

John Dauntesey of Lavington K^t^
Robert Maundrell of Potterne gen'
William Flower of Lavington Episcopi gen'
Arthur Trymnell of Potterne
John Harvest do
William Rooke do
John Flower of Worton gen'
James Newnton of Potterne
John Heyward do
William Bluntford do
Philip Hurde do
Thomas Bell do

"Ramsbury Hundred

Daniel White of Knighton.
Stephen Ballard of Minbury.
Edward Smyth Ramsbury.
John Gylmer do
Thomas Appleford of Combe
Stephen Osmund of Estridge
Thomas Hull Bishopston
John Gylmer Junr of Brayden

"Salisbury City

William Blacker Esq
Laurence Hyde Esq
John Lowe Esq
Thomas Sadler
Henry White gen'
Edmund Goddard gen'
Richard Johnson
Edward Estcourt K^t^
Giles Tucker Esq
Henry Smythe Esq
Richard Gauntlett gen'
Thomas Eyre gen'
Edward Rodes gen'
Richard Godfrey gen'
Thomas Grafton sen^r^ gen'
Edward Wyndower gen'
Thomas Ellyott; dead.
Matthew Bee gen'
Robert Banes
Roger Gauntlett gen'
John Baylie gen'
Antony Weekes gen'
John Moggeridge gen'
Henry Bull gen'
John Batt gen'
William Holmes gen'
Henry Byle gen'
Zachary Lyming
Peter Owen
Henry Castle
Robert Joles, Tanner
Richard Chaplyn, Innholder
Robert Roberts, Grocer
Antony Brickett, Iremonger
Thomas Goman, Smyth.
Robert Thorpe, Parchment-maker
Robert Smyth, Carpenter
Richard Michell shomaker
John Olyver, Parchment maker
George Beache, Sadler
Robert Bartlemewe, Linen-draper
John Provest, Innholder
Charles Jacob, Tanner
Richard Ludlowe Felt-maker
William Brotherton sen^r^, Fishmonger
Richard Stevens, Brasier
Reginald Beckham, Joyner
Thomas Gauntlett, Brewer.
Walter Ryce, Fishmonger.
Robert Frensam, Felt-maker
Bartholomew Tooker
Robert Wyther *alias* Auncell, Parchment-maker
George Bond gen'
James Jacobb, Butcher
George Whelpeley.

"Selkeley Hundred

Giles Wroughton of Brode Hinton K^t^
Henry Martyn of Upham Esq
Edward Walrond of Alborne Esq. Senex.

Richard Goddard of Upham Esq
William Danyell of St Margaret's Esq
Richard Yonge of Ogbourne Esq
William Jones of Woodlands Esq
Roger Walrond of Alborne gen'
John Hitchcock of Preshute gen'
Richard Francklyn of Kennett gen'
Thomas Baskerville of Richarson Esq
Thomas Waldron of Alborne gen'
Richard Truslowe of Avebury gen'
Thomas Weare *alias* Browne of Powlton, gen'
Thomas Sloper of Monckton.
Richard Smyth of West Kennet, yeoman
John Franklyn of Rocklye, yeoman
Thomas Collyns of Alborne, yeoman
John Smyth of East Kennett.
Robert Pears do
Ralph Fynche do
Stephen Pearse of Stitchcombe, yeoman
Thomas Hitchcock do yeoman
Richard Phelpes *alias* Bromham of Avebury.
Richard Shuter do
John Spencer of Backhampton.
John Purnell of Monkton, gen'
John Hurlebatt sen^r. of Ogbourne St Andrew's
John Pope S^r do
John Waldron do
Stephen Potter do
William Goddard do
Thomas Eyres of Ogbourne St George.
George Dixon do
Robert Newport do
John Potter do
John Goddard do
Vincent Eyres do
Robert Michell do
William Seymer do

"Swanborough Hundred

William Button of Alton K^t
William Skillinge of Dreycott Esq
John Meryweather of Cheverell Magna, yeoman
Thomas Longe of Cheverell Parva, clothyer
Richard Tytherley of Littleton gen'
William Beckett of do gen' [man
John Tayler of Easterton, husband-
Robert Bysshopp of do do
John Bythell of do do
Thomas Heskyns of do do
William Springe of do do
John Sayntburye of do do
William Flower of do gen'
Robert Noyes of Urchfont gen' 70 years.
Robert Edwardes of Wedhampton, yeoman.
John Bartlett of Cherington yeoman
Thomas Amor of Marden, yeoman
John Cope of do. gen'.
Richard Lavington of Wilsford, gen'
William Ringe of Newnton gen'
William Lavington of Hilcott, gen'
Lavington of Charleton, gen'
William Pinckney of Rushall, gen'
William Webbe of Manningford, gen'
John Cheyney of Woore [*Ore*] gen'
Thomas Hellyer do husbandman
Nicholas Chaundler do do
John Benger do yeoman. 89 years.
John Myles of Woodborowe yeoman
Thomas Baskerville of Stanton gen'
William Benger of Alton
Edward Nicholas of Allcannings gen'
William Bartlett of do gen'
Robert Baylie of Echilhampton gen'
Richard Baylie do gen'
George Provinder of Allington gen'
William Brunsdon of Stawell gen'
Antony Stokes of Manningford gen'
William Noyes of Fulwaye yeoman
Roger Blinkhorne of Manningford gen'
William Unyon of Stanton gen'
William Ricker of Stanton Mill, yeoman
Robert Grove of Upavon gen'

"Underditch Hundred

George Duke of Lake, gen'
John Daye of Wilshford, gen'
Ambrose Figg of Ford
Robert Head of Little Woodford
Richard Harford of Heele
Leonard Eddington of Woodford
John Moggeridge of *Bunscot* [?]

"Warminster Hundred

Henry Hyde of Dinton Esq
William Gifford of Boreham Esq
Edward Meddlecott of Warminster, gen'
Symon Sloper do gen'
William Blake do gen'
John Whately do
John Carpenter do
Henry Jerrett do
William Cable do
Philip Andrawes do
Edward Slade do
John Bennett of Smalebroke gen'
Richard Staples of Boreham gen'
Richard Hill do
William Baylie do [gen'
Robert Hippesley of Bishopstrowe,
William Guye of Skidmore Upton gen'
Robert Maye of Thoulston gen'
William Carr of Corsley
Antony Raxworthye do
Robert Fytchue do
John Elderton of Sutton, gen'
John Henton do
Stephen Longe do
Daniel Francklyn do
Robert Hiscocks do
Thomas Mervyn of Pertwood, gen'
Henry Hoskings of Bapton
William Bennett of Norton gen'
Richard Dewe of Middleton
Clement Burton of Boreham
Henry Moggeridge of Dinton.

"Westbury Hundred

William Jones of Brooke, gen'. Coroner
Robert Kinton of Westbury gen'
Nicholas Phipp of Leighe
Edward Cogswell do
Robert Tucker *alias* Cowche do
Nicholas Amylles of Westbury
John Amylles do
John Edwards do
Thomas Edwards do
Hugh Wattes do
Godfrey Whitaker do
John Usher of Hawkridge
James Ballard of Bratton
William Deycon do
William Burt of Brooke
Roger Cogswell of Leigh
Richard Hide of Dilton
Thomas Usher of Leigh

"Whorwells Down Hundred

William Pawlett of Edington K[t]
John Lambe of Coulston Esq
Henry Longe of Southweeke, gen'
John Greenhill of Steeple Ashton
Roger Martyn do gen'
John Templer do gen'
George White do
Godfrey Hickes do
John Tucker of Hinton
Thomas Longe Sen[r] of Semington
Thomas Longe Jun[r] do
Thomas Somner do
Edward Somner do
Merick Spender of Baynton
John Meryweather do
Nashe Whitaker of Tinhead gen'
Antony Martyn of West Ashton
Richard Greenhill of North Bradley
Richard Cowche do
Roger Markes do

George Danyell of Steple Ashton, gen' | John Burges of do
John Flower of West Ashton | John Carpenter of Edington

"WILTON BOROUGH

Walter Graye of Wilton | John Smyth do
Richard White do | Humphrey Ditton do
Richard Graye do | John Everley do
William Sharpe do | Thomas Hayes do
John Hayes do | Walter Brasyer do"

Cathedral Life and Work at Sarum in Olden Times.

By W. H. JONES, M.A., F.S.A., &c.,

Canon of Sarum and Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

SO much interest is felt at the present time in our cathedrals, and so many hopes raised as to their being before long instrumental in again fulfilling more fully the great ends for which they were at the first established, that a sketch of what the cathedral body at Sarum was, and what it accomplished, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, may not be unacceptable to our readers.

This especial period is fixed upon, because it was then, that, on the removal of the cathedral from Old to New Sarum, bishop Richard Poore re-organised his chapter, and, as internal evidence proves, the consuetudinary of St. Osmund was, so to speak, re-edited, and adapted to the requirements of the time. Certainly it was the era during which the discipline and ritual of the cathedral was at the highest point which it ever reached. And it is of some little interest to remember, that the cathedral statutes drawn up during that period, in the episcopate of Roger de Mortival, save so

far as they may have been modified by specific enactments of the legislature, or are contrary to the word of God as interpreted in the formularies of the church of England, are binding in spirit, if not in letter, on all the Canons of Sarum to the present day.

There were two kinds of cathedrals in pre-Reformation times: (1) cathedrals of secular canons, and (2) conventual cathedrals; in the former the Dean and Canons, in the second the Prior and Monks, formed the Bishop's chapter. In many of the latter class, it is right to add, there were "canons" at the first, who were afterwards replaced by "monks."

The cathedral at Sarum belonged to the former class, and it is well always to recollect the distinction just pointed out. About few matters, perhaps, are there so many erroneous notions as respecting the constitution and real purpose of a cathedral body of secular canons. People will persist in talking about it, as though it were originally some sort of monastic establishment. Never was there a greater mistake, for certainly in the cathedral of Sarum, whether Old or New, there never was a "monk." Those whom Bishop Osmund gathered round him were *secular* clergy—clergy, that is, who lived in the world, dwelling in their own houses, and who were not uncommonly married. In truth a "Regular" could not hold a prebend in Sarum, and as early as the year 1228 we have a record in what is called St. Osmund's Register (fol. lxxix.) to this effect, that the prebend of "Rotescomb" (=Ruscomb) which was S. de Eketon's, who, as was reported "*habitum religionis suscepit,*" was conferred on Ranulf Brito. In early documents—in a decree, for example, of the Council of Cealchyth (A.D. 785)[1]—a clear distinction is drawn between "*monachi*" and "*canonici,*" the latter including *all* clergy, the former only those who took on them certain vows and were bound by the rule (*regula*) of their order. In fact, the monks or regulars were men, who, as has been said, "instead of living *in* the world to look after the souls of *others,* went out of the world with

[1] The decree of the council runs thus:—"Ut episcopi diligenti curâ provideant quod omnes *canonici* sui canonicè vivant, et *monachi* . . . regulariter conversentur tam in cibis quam in vestibus, ut discretio sit inter canonicum et monachum vel secularem."—Wilkins' Concil., i., 147.

the presumed purpose of looking after their *own* souls." Not so with the Canons—they did not take vows, but were simply bound, as indeed they are to the present day, by the law of the church at the time. And the secular foundations were never severed from the daily interests of the citizens, but continued for centuries to be *of* the people, as they sprang *from* the people; and their members were the busiest, and the least recluse, of men.

At the first, no doubt, all the Canons of Sarum lived on the common property of the church, the Bishop himself being the undoubted and recognized head of the whole cathedral body. None of them, at the beginning, whether dignitaries or not, had any separate existence, apart from the Bishop; in truth they were his immediate companions and assistants, as well in the services of the mother church, as in the general management of the diocese.

But though this was the *original* idea and working of a cathedral such as that of Sarum, there is no doubt that at a very early period all members of the body, from the Bishop downwards, had, over and above their allowance from the common fund of the cathedral, their separate estates, or "*præbendæ*," as they were termed. Indeed there is no evidence of the Bishop of Sarum ever living in common with his canons, or sharing with them any part of the revenue. From a very early period the Bishop had his own "prebend," and also his separate estates. So, too, with the several canons; it is not easy to say at what exact time this modification of the original plan took place, but it was certainly in full working order within some hundred years or so after Osmund's decease.

As regards the work to be performed by these secular canons, it may be said that their duties were *three-fold*; and had reference to their relations (*a*) with the Bishop, (*b*) with the cathedral, (*c*) with the diocese.

(*a*) As regards the Bishop, they were to be his special companions and advisers. There were many matters of importance in olden times which a Bishop would never undertake without their counsel. In after days they came to be called "concilium episcopi contra hæreses et schismata"; indeed the very name "Consistory Court" preserves the tradition of the old custom of the Bishop *sitting with*

his presbyters, to judge concerning defaulting clerks. It was just as sacred a principle "Let the Bishop do nothing without his presbyters," as "Let nothing be done without the Bishop." To this day, each Bishop of the Roman communion in England, thus following ancient precedent, has a chapter of *eleven* canons, whom he is bound to consult on certain matters connected with his diocese.

(*b*) As regards the cathedral, a certain number were always required to be there, together with their Vicars (of whom we shall presently speak), for the purpose of maintaining its perpetual round of services, as the model and example for the whole diocese. The worship of the diocese was centred here; as Bishop Benson describes it,—"Here was the ceaseless supplication for grace, the perpetual intercession, the endless praise—unbroken yet ever new—like nature herself,—with daily-varying, never-changing majesty."

(*c*) As regards the diocese at large, they had even more important duties. They were to go forth as missionaries, to carry, as from the fountain source, the blessings of one common faith to all in the diocese, and especially to those living on the estates which the liberality of benefactors had annexed as "prebends" to the Cathedral.

We may observe, therefore, at once, the great distinction between the principle of the cathedral and of the parish—it is that of *diffusion*, as opposed to *concentration*. The Canons were the ministers for the spiritual good of the *whole* diocese; and attendance on cathedral worship was no more the whole duty of a Canon, than the performance of divine service is the whole duty of a parish priest. As has been well said, "The original foundations of cathedrals were all of a missionary character. The dioceses followed for the most part the secular divisions of the country, and each cathedral was the centre at which the Bishop took up his station or seat, and from which he sent forth his clergy to evangelise the country round, at the same time that he maintained a theological school on the spot. The cathedral was, then, truly the "mother church" of the diocese. Her business was to teach, to preach, and, as time went on, to persuade the owners of property to give lands, or the tithes of lands on their own estates, which thenceforth became

ecclesiastical districts under the name of 'parishes.' These parishes were thus the 'colonies' which the cathedral, as their mother Church, founded. The parallel between them and the 'colonia' and 'metropolis' of still more ancient times was complete; and hence the same terms have been rhetorically, if not technically, applied to them."

A grand conception this assuredly! It carries us back, of course, to a period earlier than even Bishop Osmund's first cathedral at Old Sarum, but its leading principle was carried out in his foundation of secular canons nevertheless. Men often talk of the life of devotion as the highest type of earthly perfection, and yet surely earnest life and work in the world in behalf of others, though it may have less sentiment, has as much reality about it. Surely *that*, after all, is the highest type of life, which, living for others, is as a "light shining in a dark place"; which dares to be holy amid unholiness; which is ever witnessing for its Master before the froward and unbelieving. And *this* is the grand ideal that Osmund had before him in his cathedral and his band of secular canons—the *former*, a "city set on a hill," which could not be hid, the spiritual home of all committed to his charge, the *latter*, the under-shepherds, whose task it was to gather them within the church's fold;—*now* interceding for them in the prayers and praises that rose up as incense night and day—*now* teaching them, in their several parishes, the principles of the christian faith and the practice of a holy life.

But we must go a little more into detail, and describe the work of the cathedral, and the duties of its canons. This we shall do the more conveniently, by speaking of what was carried on, *first* of all, in the cathedral itself; and then, *secondly*, in the diocese generally.

I. As regards the cathedral itself, we may say that at the beginning of the thirteenth century there were no less than *fifty-three* canons[1]—including the Bishop, who was also a canon and held a distinct prebend as appurtenant to his dignity, in order that he might never be excluded from the meetings of chapter—and the like number of vicars. Of course the number of prebends was also fifty-three, for it was a fundamental rule from the beginning that,

[1] The number was *fifty-three* only for a short time. It was soon reduced to *fifty-two*, and remained so for some centuries.

though a member of the cathedral body might have a "stall in choir," he had no "voice in chapter," unless he were possessed also of a prebend; and such, according to the statutes, is the case to this day. Of those canons, *four* (Quatuor Personæ) were "principal," or, as they were sometimes called, "internal" dignitaries; (1) the DEAN, who was the head of the cathedral, its "immediate ordinary," charged with the cure of the souls of all its members, and the general control and discipline; (2) the PRECENTOR, who had the general direction of the services and the ritual, and the ordering of the choristers or other youthful ministrants, the christian Levites serving in the sanctuary; (3) the CHANCELLOR, who was not only the secretary of the chapter, but the instructor alike of the younger canons in theology, and of the "pueri," the still more youthful members of the cathedral body, in grammar; charged with the care, in the first instance, of the library; bound to deliver, or procure to be delivered, lectures in theology, and at his own cost also to provide books for divine service; (4) the TREASURER, who was not simply a bursar or steward, but had special care of all the sacred vessels and vestments belonging to the church; and a mere glance at the list of "Ornamenta Ecclesiæ" in the time of Bishop R. Poore, as contained in the Old Register (and printed from it in Hatcher and Benson's "Salisbury" p. 718), will shew how important and responsible an office his must have been. Dean Hook, in his life of St. Edmund of Canterbury, once Treasurer of Sarum (Lives of Archb. of Canterb., iii., 127), gives a vivid description of the manifold duties of this office, which included the reverent ordering of all the accessories of divine service, and the appointment of the six "Altaristæ," or servers at the various altars—a title afterwards changed into that of "Virgiferi" (or Virgers).

The Abbot of Sherborne for the time being held a "stall in choir and place in chapter," in virtue of the prebend of Sherborne. In like manner, Savaric, Bishop of Bath and Glastonbury, and once Treasurer of Sarum, founded two prebends at Wells, which were to be held by the Abbots of Muchelney, and Athelney, for the time being. The abbots of monasteries were bound to come to their own Bishop for the formal benediction ("*munus benedictionis*") on their

appointment, and it was certainly more than a mere act of good policy to connect the heads of such houses closely with the diocesan church. It taught them especially to look to the cathedral as the "*matrix ecclesia*" after all—the church in which every baptized person in the diocese—lay or cleric, regular or secular—might find a spiritual home.

In addition to this there were three prebends—those of Okeborne, Upavon, and Loders—which were held respectively by the Abbots of Bec—of St. Wandragesil—and St. Mary Montebergh, in Normandy. These were exempted from the duty of residence, but enjoyed all the privileges of canons. In truth, the two last Abbots voted as canons, at the election of Robert Bingham in 1229.

The duties connected with the many services at the cathedral required, not only a large number of canons, but of canons in various grades of holy orders. Hence the prebends were held, some by Priests—some by Deacons—some by Sub-Deacons. Of the first there were, in 1225 and onwards, *twenty-two,* of the second *eighteen,* of the third *thirteen.* And inasmuch as the canons were prevented oftentimes by other duties from being present at the different services—there were *seven* canonical "hours"—each one was required to appoint a vicar, in like orders with himself. By the statutes of 1319, as settled in the time of Bishop Roger de Mortival, there were required to be present at each service thirteen vicars on the "Decani" side, and a like number on the "Cantoris" side of the choir. An arrangement was made at the same time, by which a certain number of the canons were bound to residence, selected partly from one side of the choir and partly from the other, and consisting of Priests, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons. So that there were never to be less than from thirty-five to forty present, exclusive of the "Quatuor Personæ," who were bound to perpetual residence.

Besides these there were many included under the general term "Ministri Ecclesiæ," and also the "Pueri," amongst whom were reckoned, not only the choristers, but other youths employed in one part or other of the services. Hence, at no time, if these statutes to which I have referred were observed, could there have been fewer in the choir than seventy or eighty.

It must not be imagined, however, that canonical life and cathedral work began and ended with cathedral service. Though attendance at those services was an essential part of the *life* of the canons, it was probably a very small part of their *work*. The rule at Lincoln, and St. Pauls, though not formulated in our statutes, was no doubt that also at Sarum—"We exact but a *moderate* assiduity (assiduitatem moderatam): not that a canon should be bound to attend all the 'hours,' but one 'hour' every day, or the High Mass, unless he have leave of absence or be infirm, or sick, or is occupied elsewhere in the affairs of the church." Still there were other works which engaged the canons. Not only is study contemplated for themselves, but education for others; for whilst the chancellor "ruled the schools" in the close and in the city, he was assisted by the canons. Moreover there were other works of charity or usefulness which occupied them. "*Resedencia debet esse laboriosa non desidiosa,*"—so ran the rule laid down for them; and some cathedral statutes expressly enjoin that no one shall be appointed whose health is not likely "to endure the labour." The great Robert Grosteste—himself originally one of ourselves, the gift of Sarum to Lincoln—well defines the work of a canon, when, in offering a prebend to a scholar of high character on condition of his coming at once into residence, he required him to help in feeding the flock with the three necessary things, viz., "The work of preaching, the pattern of a holy conversation, and the devotion of single-hearted prayer." And it was for the sake of a greater efficiency in the same work, that he at one time resigned a higher dignity, and became by his own act a poorer man.

Mention has already been made of the vicars, of whom there were at one time no less than *fifty-three*, each canon being bound to appoint one to supply any lack of service on his own part, and to pay them certain sums out of his "prebend," the rest being supplied from the "*communa*," or common fund, of the cathedral. The latter payment was called "stall-wages," and was paid to a comparatively recent period: indeed a sum, considered to be an equivalent to the old payment, is handed over to the Vicars Choral of Sarum to the present day.

Notwithstanding that the staff of vicars was so large, their work must have been very laborious. The services "which they were required to attend" were all but incessant. No less than *thirteen* vicars were required to be present each morning at the celebration of the daily mass of the Blessed Virgin, as well as *twenty-six*, as has been already mentioned, (thirteen from each side of the choir,) at the other services.

Of the cathedral statutes no less than nine or ten have reference to the Vicars. They were to be nominated by the canon whose vicars they were, and to be duly appointed, after examination, by the Dean. They were so appointed, first of all, for one year, at the end of which they were again examined, and this time more especially in their knowledge of the psalter by heart, in accordance with their promise on first admission—"*Psalterium benè addiscam infra annum.*" Minute directions are given as to their "habit," *in* choir or *out* of it. Restrictions were placed on their movements; the younger ones were not permitted to go into the city without permission of the Dean; the gates of the close were shut at seven o'clock, and no Vicar was permitted to leave it "*post pulsatum ignitegium S. Edmundi*"—after the ringing of the curfew at St. Edmund's Church. They were forbidden without leave either to go to the house of strangers, or to receive strangers within their own houses. They were not allowed to carry arms within the Close, or to "play at ball" within the precincts of their common hall. Holy Scripture was to be read to such of them as took their meals together, and, after grace was said, in the intervals of such reading only Latin was to be spoken. They were not allowed to hold any benefice in connexion with their office, and those who accepted any such appointment were either compelled to surrender it again, or to retire from the cathedral. Thus, in 1405, one William Mellys had to resign the vicarage of St. Peter's, Old Sarum, as incompatible with his duties as a Vicar Choral. And for payment they received from their respective canons—a Priest 40*s.*, a Deacon 30*s.*, and a Sub-Deacon 26*s.* 8*d.*, payments which were supplemented (as has been already intimated) with grants from the common fund. And more than once in the cathedral statutes are they warned of the consequences

of insubordination. They are bidden ever to remember that "*in nullo pares esse sed subjectos Canonicis*," and that, if they be "stiff-necked," they will be treated like the brazen serpent, which, though lifted up at first on high, was afterwards brought low and broken to pieces.

There were several customs of interest observed in the cathedral, of which a short account may fitly be given.

(*a*) At the end of prime-song each morning—that is, soon after six o'clock—the canons, vicars, and other ministers of the Church, went in procession to the Chapter House. All were seated according to their rank, and in accordance with the directions of the consuetudinary, except the "*pueri*," who stood on the floor ranged on either side of the pulpit. One boy, habited in a surplice (*superpellicio*), whose duty it was for the week (and hence called *ebdomadarius*) read from the pulpit the "martyrologie," and afterwards gave out the obits. After the boy had gone through the list, the officiating priest, standing behind the reader, said, "*Animæ eorum et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum, per Dei misericordiam, requiescant in pace.*" And then he added, "*Preciosa in conspectu Domini*," &c.

Then followed another lection out of some pious writer. After this, if any member of the cathedral body had been negligent of duty, he asked forgiveness of the Dean and his brethren. All these lections (*collationes*) read in the Chapter House were arranged previously by the Chancellor, and, in the statutes of Lincoln, are said to have proved most "effectual for the reformation of faith and morals."

(*b*) Another custom, I should like to refer to, was that of dividing the psalter among the holders of the various stalls, including, of course, the bishop, so that the whole psalter might be daily recited, as a common act of private devotion and with the thought and memory of common obligation. It would seem that at one time, as is the case to this day at St. Paul's and at Lincoln, the first words of such portions as were allotted to each prebend, were placed over its stall in the cathedral; for there is mention in the Holt register in the year 1551 of "Stallum quod dicitur *Expectans*," &c.—(the opening words of Psalm 40)—the stall of Bitton. This recitation of psalms was in ancient times regarded not only as a work of

charity, but of intercession. A bishop, as he rode about the country to see his flock, would often halt, and say a portion of the psalter aloud with his clerks on horseback. A decree of a council in 816 directed, that on the decease of a bishop thirty psalms should be solemnly chanted in every church of the diocese; and Bede tells us that the anniversary of St. Oswald was kept partly by the "singing of psalms."

This arrangement of the psalter into *forty-nine* portions—for to the three foreign abbots, who held the stalls of Okeborne, Loders, and Upavon, there were assigned portions from other parts of Holy Scripture—was a very ancient one; reaching back possibly to the thirteenth century. In any case it was a holy bond between the members of the cathedral body, when they were thus unceasingly reminded of the duty of intercession for each other and for all men; and in this way daily blended the memory of the past with the devotion of the present.

(*c*) There was another most interesting practice at Sarum, of co-opting lay benefactors and others into brotherhood. A similar custom prevailed at Lichfield. Among documents belonging to the cathedral there is one entitled "*Modus recipiendi aliquam honestam vel nobilem personam in fratrem seu sororem*,"—so that the practice was an established one, with its settled mode of inauguration. The chapter registers have many entries on this subject. Thus in 1388 the Duke of Lancaster and his wife were admitted "*in fratrem et sororem.*" In 1400 the Earl of Rutland was admitted "*in fratrem quoad suffragia.*" In 1405 we meet with a request from "Ludovicus," described as "Untluanus Episcopus," that he might be received as a "brother of the church of Sarum." In 1409 the Prince of Wales, and the Queen, together with her attendants (*mulieres ejus*) were so received. In 1420 we have this record:—Henry Bishop of Winchester—no less a person than the Cardinal Beaufort of after days, who by the way had formerly held the prebend of Horton—asking to be received back "as a brother" into his old cathedral—"*humiliter ad terram prostratus petit se admitti in fratrem intuitu caritatis.*" And in 1473 King Edward IV., together with the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, were so admitted into brotherhood.

Whether these "Brothers of the Chapter" undertook any specific work on behalf of the cathedral I know not. It was, to say the least, a custom which showed the wider spirit of a cathedral such as ours, when contrasted with the narrowness of monastic discipline. Anyhow the idea is an interesting one, and capable possibly, with modern adjustments, of useful revival even in our own day.

(*d*) One other custom of Sarum—a paramount duty laid on each of its canons—I must mention. They were bound to attend the general meetings of the chapter, when duly summoned by the Dean, through their respective Vicars. The great meeting of chapter—the "Senatus Ecclesiasticus"—was held at Whitsuntide, and hence was called the "Pentecostal Chapter." On that occasion all matters of general interest were considered, and such modifications, as from time to time were necessary, were made in the statutes and ordinances of the cathedral. Non-attendance at this chapter, which lasted sometimes for several days, was visited with a fine or even excommunication. Even after the Reformation, when of course the discipline was somewhat modified, every canon was especially charged, in pursuance of the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, to be present at this chapter. In Bishop Jewel's time it is called "congregatio celebris," and in a record of the date of July, 1560, there is a memorandum of the "Canonical House, called Ledenhall," having been set apart for the *seven years* then next ensuing for the canons non-resident, "ut in festo Pentecostes in rebus divinis juxta regias injunctiones commodè potuissent interesse senatui ecclesiastico." Bishop after Bishop—John Jewel in 1560, John Davenant in 1630, Humphrey Henchman in 1661—all issued precepts concerning it. The last Pentecostal Chapter that was held, was in the year 1813. Since that time the time-honoured custom has been in abeyance, though its revival was unanimously recommended by the Dean and Canons residentiary in their report to the Cathedral Commissioners in 1852. Much of the work, no doubt, which would have come before such a chapter, before the transference of all the separate estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is no longer needful, still it was *after* the Cathedrals' Act, which made that change, was in operation, that the recommendation above alluded

to was made. And their words in doing so are worth repeating. By reviving the Pentecostal Chapter, the non-residentiary members of the cathedral body, they say, "would have a more intimate connection with the mother church, and having, so to speak, no possible interest in any abuse connected with it, would naturally be very jealous of any falling off from the great ends the cathedral was intended to reach, and might every year, by the enactment of new statutes with the consent of the visitor, arrest the progress of any evils, and meet, as far as the means at their disposal would allow them, any new demand which the wants of their times might make upon a great church institution like the cathedral." [1]

II. As regards the work in the *diocese* generally, which was to be carried out by various members of the cathedral body—what has been well called its *centrifugal* force, or the radiation from it, as a centre, of spiritual influences—this was manifold in its character.

(*a*) It was the duty of the canons as assistants of the Bishop to help forward all diocesan objects as far as possible. The theological training which is always provided for, and for which the Chancellor of the church was especially responsible, had in view of course the providing a sufficient number of clergy for the service of the church. Moreover without doubt some of the canons were themselves employed in what may be called "evangelistic" work. In other cathedrals this appears more distinctly perhaps than at Sarum; as at Lincoln, where two itinerant canons were always "on circuit," or at St. David's, where the name "*cursal* canon" still remains; but no doubt the duty was acknowledged.

(*b*) Under this *general* work of canons must also be mentioned the duty of acting as the special counsellors of the Bishop. When summoned by the Dean, in obedience to the Bishop's mandate, the members of the chapter were bound to assemble from time to time to consider any matter concerning the diocese in its relation to the Bishop. A certain number of canons, either selected by the Bishop, or delegated by the chapter itself, was, as has been said, the recognised council of the diocesan—"concilium episcopi contra hæreses et

[1] Cathed. Com. Rep. (1852), Append., p. 611.

schismata." Such a "council" was required to be consulted by him, not only in cases of presumed clerical delinquency, but in all questions of importance. So intimate, indeed, were the duties and rights of canons, that one of the complaints made to Innocent III. by the chapter of Angoulême against their bishop was to this effect, that "he treated of difficult causes without the assent of his canons—"causas difficiles tractaret sine canonicorum assensu." Moreover a few years before that time, in the year 1180, Pope Alexander III., writing to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had made certain appointments without consulting his chapter, asked whether he did not know, "how he and his brethren were one body; so that he was the head, and they the members." Wherefore he adds, "it is not becoming that thou, leaving out the members, shouldest use the counsel of others in the business of thy church; a course without doubt at variance with thine own plain duty (*honestati tuæ*), and the institutions of the holy fathers." [1]

Such a "court spiritual" was among the institutions of olden days. As lately as the year 1710, in the time of Bishop Sherlock, a chapter was held at Sarum before the Bishop, sitting judicially, for the trial of a canon. It was, indeed, one of the rights and privileges of a canon that he should be judged by his Bishop and brother-canons. In one of the original documents relating to the foundation of his cathedral, Bishop Osmund thus distinctly states it—"Dignitas decani et omnium canonicorum est ut episcopo in nullo respondeant nisi in capitulo, et judicio tantum capituli pareant." [2] A great change no doubt has taken place, but on this, and its consequences, it would be out of place to comment in these pages. One result, however, may be described in the words of the Bishop of Lincoln, who says that episcopal authority, exercised individually and apart from the advice of its council of canons, has become rather

[1] The whole passage, which is from the Decretals, Lib. III., Tit. x., cap. iv., is as follows:—"Novit tuæ discretionis prudentia, qualiter tu et fratres tui unum corpus sitis, ita quod tu caput, et illi membra esse probantur. Unde non decet te, omissis membris, aliorum consilio in ecclesiæ tuæ negotiis uti; cum id, non sit dubium, et honestati tuæ, et sanctorum patrum institutionibus, contrarium."

[2] Osmund Reg. fol. xxiv., in a document, dated 1091, and headed, "Aliæ ordinationes per dominum Osmundum in ecclesiâ Sarum."

like "an inverted pyramid trembling on its apex, than like one, as in ancient days, quietly reposing on its base."

(*c*) But under this general head of work to be done by the canons away from the cathedral must be mentioned the special duties with which they were charged in respect of the "*prebend*" or separate estate with which each of them was endowed. On each such estate there was a house of residence with a "*familia*," and often also a church, either served by the prebendary himself, or by a vicar appointed by him. On that prebend the canon lived, and there was his sphere of work, save at such times as he came to the cathedral for any of the duties that there devolved on him. In fact he was responsible for the spiritual well-being of all connected with that estate—for the education of the young, the appointment of the pastor, the condition of the labourer. In the history of S. Edmund of Canterbury, once Treasurer of our church, we have an admirable illustration of the true working of the cathedral system. We all know how fully and how generously he fulfilled his duties at the cathedral—the prebend of Calne was actually annexed to his dignity, that his successors might not fail to carry out their duties with equal liberality. The messengers sent from Canterbury, to announce to Edmund Rich his election to the primacy, went, first of all, naturally enough, to Salisbury; but, not finding him there, travelled on to Calne, the "prebend" held by him, and still held by his successors the Treasurers of Sarum. There they found him engaged in attending to the interests, temporal and spiritual, of those of whom he had the oversight. At the time of their arrival he was occupied in study, and, in compliance with his usual directions to his attendants, they would not disturb him. After a while he came forth to meet the messengers, and received their tidings, not with any exultation, but with real and unfeigned sorrow, at the thought of leaving his own people. In truth, he at first refused the offered dignity, nor, until he had been again at Sarum, and had taken counsel with the bishop and his brother canons, did he, in compliance with their urgent entreaty, consent. "He who knoweth all things," were his words, "knoweth that I would never consent to this election, did I not fear that I might be committing sin." And

then returning to Calne, he went with his own people into their well-loved church, and whilst he lay prostrate on the ground before the holy altar, they solemnly chanted "*Te Deum Laudamus*,"—sounds of sorrow mingling with notes of joy.

This example is a good illustration of the way in which each "prebend" became, in a faithful carrying out of the cathedral system, the centre not only of the civilization, but of the christianizing, of each district. The duties and powers of a Prebendary with respect to his prebend are defined and urged in this view. He is exhorted so to fulfil them as that his people may desire (*appetant commorari*) under his headship. His prebend was organically connected with the cathedral, and all leases granted by him were to be approved by the chapter. Any complaints concerning his administration could be made to the Dean and chapter, and appeals also *from* him could be dealt with by the same authority. It is worth notice how prominently the duty which a canon owed to his especial prebend is recognized, at all events in principle, in the ecclesiastical canons of 1603. All the canons were required to preach, not only in their cathedral church, but in "other churches of the diocese, *especially* in those places whence they and their church received any yearly rents and profits." (Canon xliii).

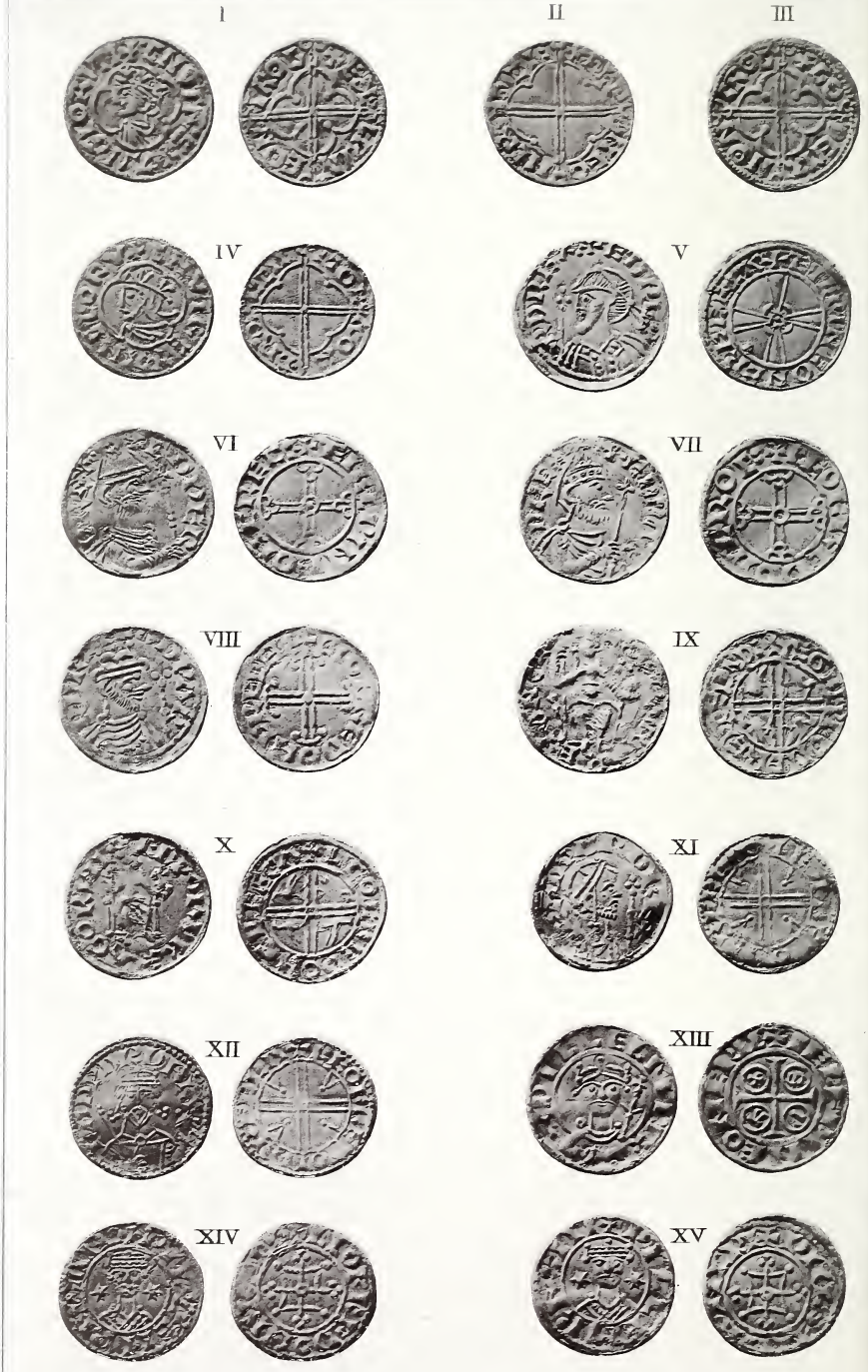
Nor was this all; for, in olden times, the more surely to secure the proper care of all such cathedral prebends, the Dean was empowered—in fact required—to visit them at stated periods. In the register of St. Osmund we have a full account of such a visitation in the year 1220 by the Dean, William de Wenda, and a very thorough one it was. A number of extracts are printed in Maskell's "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England" (p. 181). The enquiry extended not only to the state of the church, but to the efficiency of all its officers. Even the vicars were subjected to an examination, and, if found wanting, suspended or removed; the prebendary at the same time being warned that unless better provision were made for the spiritual wants of the parishioners, the Dean would take the benefice into his own hands. Records of such visitations still exist, and very instructive they are, as showing the

care taken by the authorities that all covenanted duties should be faithfully performed.

Such then, as we have endeavoured to set them forth, were the original designs of a cathedral of secular canons, like that of Sarum. It was a grand ideal that Osmund set before him when he founded it as the mother church of all, drawing to itself as a centre all those spiritual influences, which, growing intense by this union, should re-act, in other forms and in successive radiations from it, to every portion of the diocese. Whether it ever, at any time, reached the grand ideal before the mind of its founder may perhaps be questioned. As in all things human, imperfections soon were made manifest. Abuses from various sources too speedily grew up, and marred the fair beauty of the plan. What these were it is hardly within the scope of this essay to explain—the task which was undertaken was to shew the original intention of Osmund, and the various ways in which it was carried out in olden times.

It was indeed a heavy blow that fell on our cathedral when all the non-resident canons were disendowed, and their separate estates transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. We owe it to the earnest zeal of Bishop Denison, it is said, that the prebendal stalls were not altogether abolished also. It is something to feel that the whole frame-work of the cathedral system at Sarum remains, in all essential matters, just as it was in the eleventh century; and further, that the endowments have not been disposed of without some care for the parishes whence they arose. And more than this, we may be thankful that the experience and knowledge of the last forty years has brought to the renewed enquiry concerning our cathedrals a more reverent care for the past, a desire to build up rather than to pull down,—in a word, a wish to see them once more fulfilling the great object for which they were founded. It is with a sincere hope that such intentions may be realised, that the writer of this paper concludes a sketch of what *once* they were, or at all events were *intended* to be. May the cathedral of the future fulfil, at least in spirit, the great designs of the cathedral of the past.

Bradford-on-Avon, W. H. Jones.
June, 1881.



ANGLO-SAXON COINS FROM THE CRICKLADE MINT.

The Cricklade Mint.

By the Rev. William Allan, M.A.,

Vicar of St. James', Bermondsey.

THERE are few studies which are more interesting, or more intricate, than that of numismatics. Coinage, at the present day at any rate, is co-extensive with civilization, so that the history of coins is closely related to the history of the world. For nearly three thousand years, precious metals, impressed with some authorized stamp, have been more or less commonly adopted as the medium of commerce. Their introduction into England was formerly thought to be due to the Romans, but it is now certain that gold, silver, and copper coins, of Grecian rather than Roman style, were in use amongst the ancient Britons before the arrival of the Romans, and after their departure the Anglo-Saxon monarchs struck rude silver coins of their own. Even the words penny, halfpenny, and farthing (peninȝe, halfpeninȝe, feorðunȝ) were the names by which these coins were known nearly twelve hundred years ago. The manufacture of coins was not, however, exclusively a royal monopoly, as it is in the present day, for the Archbishops of Canterbury and York had the right of mintage, and even the coins which more properly deserve the title of coins of the realm were not issued from one great national mint, but from a multitude of small ones scattered over the land. In various localities certain moneyers were authorized, under very rigid limitations, and subject to severe penalties, to manufacture coins for the public use, several, if not many, of these moneyers being engaged at each different centre. In all cases they had to furnish specimens of their handiwork as a royalty, or tribute, to their sovereign.

By the laws of Athelstan it was enacted that mints should always be situated within the walls of fortified towns. In those days Cricklade came within this restriction (see *Wilts Archæological Magazine*, vol. xii., page 126), and enjoyed the privilege under

several successive monarchs of manufacturing coins. In the whole county there were probably only three other places similarly favoured —Old Sarum, Malmesbury, and Wilton—from which fact we may obtain some idea of the size and importance of Cricklade at that early period. Marlborough and Bradford are alluded to in Ruding's Annals, but the only traces of a mint at Marlborough consist of a penny of William I., bearing the letters MRLERLEI, and of a few discovered at Beaworth, stamped MIELEB. The only claim of Bradford is a penny of Ethelred II., with the letters BÆRD, which Ruding thinks might possibly be a transposition of BRÆD.

It is scarcely necessary to discuss the right of Crewkerne, in Somersetshire, to the parentage of a few coins which have been sometimes attributed to it, for even Ruding, who is one of the writers in question, speaks very doubtfully of the right of Crewkerne to claim a mint at all, and any one who has carefully investigated the question, and is fully acquainted with the varied appellations by which Cricklade was undoubtedly distinguished, and the abbreviations and contractions of those names, can hardly entertain a doubt respecting any of those which will be hereafter enumerated. It may serve to show the extraordinary variation of spelling which then prevailed, if it be mentioned that the writer has met with more than fifty modes of spelling the name, and that almost every form of designation, from ᏟR to ᏟROᏟᏞELÆD and ᏟEROILÆ, is used on these coins to distinguish the town of Cricklade. To this general statement, however, there are a few exceptions, such as ᏟRV, CRVᏟ, and ᏟRVᏟE, which were the ordinary abbreviations of ᏟRVᏟERNE, and which are not found on any coin properly attributable to Cricklade.

The Cricklade coins now extant cover a period of about one hundred and twenty years, and include the Anglo-Saxon, Danish, Anglo-Saxon Restoration, and Norman times. In the reign of Ethelred there were at least five moneyers at Cricklade: Ethelsige, Godeman, Leofgod, Toca, and Ethestan. In the reign of Canute, there were seven, and one of these spelt his name with such marked diversity that he appears to have been desirous of counting for five. Notwithstanding the Danish invasion, and consequent change of sovereignty,

and the spoliation of Cricklade by Canute in the year of his accession (1016), Godeman and Toca managed to hold their own, but the other three drop out of sight, and we meet, instead, with the names of Hildred, Sidewine, Lifinc, Wulfwine, and Edelwine (*alias* Ielwine, Aelwine, Aelgelwine, and Aedelwine). The last is the only one known to the writer as a moneyer at Cricklade in the reign of Harold, and he flourished then under the additional title of Aelwinne. The Anglo-Saxon moneyers usually held their office by a very precarious tenure, but this individual was an exception, and under the cognate names of Aeielwine, Eielwine, Eilwine, and Aelwinee flourished also in the days of Edward the Confessor, his only rival in business appearing to have been Leofred or Liofred. In the reign of William I. and II., the latter at any rate retained his office. Ielfwine was also at this period a Cricklade moneyer, but whether he was a descendant of the original and Protean Edelwine, who inherited his progenitor's partiality for aliases, or a different person altogether, it is, perhaps impossible to decide. It is by no means easy to discriminate between the coins issued in the reigns of William the Conqueror and his successor Rufus, but some think it probable that the coins which bear the name of Wulstan were struck in the reign of the latter. So far as the writer knows there are no Cricklade coins extant minted during the brief reigns of Edmund II., Hardicanute, and Harold II.

Of course it must not be supposed that these moneyers necessarily, or even usually, confined their minting operations to this one locality. To take Aelfwine as an example. A mere examination of Mr. Head's paper on the Chancton find will prove that his ubiquity was as remarkable as his varied nomenclature, inasmuch as he appears to have carried on his business in the days of Edward the Confessor at Bristol, Chichester, Colchester, Hertford, Huntingdon, Ilchester, Ipswich, London, Oxford, Southampton, Southwark, Thetford, Wilton, Winchester, and Worcester.

And now it may be interesting to state where the various specimens of Cricklade coins known to the writer are to be found. In the British Museum there are four of Canute, eight of Edward the Confessor, and three of William I. and II. In the Museum at

Devizes there is but one, which belongs to the reign of William I., and which was presented to it by the late J. Y. Akerman, Esq., of Abingdon, and himself a member of an old Cricklade family. In the Royal Cabinet at Stockholm, which contained four thousand three hundred and thirty-two different specimens of Anglo-Saxon coins at the time that Hildebrand published his catalogue, there are five types or varieties belonging to the reign of Ethelred II., ten belonging to the reign of Canute, and a single specimen of the reign of Harold I. At Copenhagen the royal collection of coins and medals contains one penny of the reign of Ethelred II., sixteen types and varieties of the reign of Canute, very few of which are duplicates of the ten deposited at Stockholm, and one of the reign of Edward the Confessor. In the University collection at Lund in Scania (Sweden), there are two pennies of Canute. There are also two Canute coins, duplicates of two of those at Copenhagen, in the private collection belonging to the Count Bille-Brahe-Selbye and Brahesminde in Fuynen (Denmark). At Bergen there is a solitary specimen of the reign of Canute. The Director of the University collection at Christiania and the Librarian at the Bodleian at Oxford state that no Cricklade coins exist in their cabinets. It is noticeable that almost all the coins found from time to time in Scandinavia belong to the Danegeld period, which began in the time of Ethelred, and terminated (as a payment to the Danes) in the reign of Edward the Confessor. A few have been found of the latter part of Edgar's reign, but none belonging to the Cricklade mint.

The writer has in most instances been unable to ascertain where these various coins were found. Hildebrand gives the provinces and districts in Scandinavia in which those in the Stockholm cabinets were found, and shows that the great bulk were found in the eastern provinces, but he does not specify the exact localities, or state what coins were found in each. About sixteen were found among the twelve thousand coins which were unearthed at Beaworth, near Alresford, in 1833. They bore the name and effigy of William, and were in such excellent preservation that it was clear they had never been in circulation, the edges forced up between the collar and the die being

as sharp as the day they were minted. They may have been part of a tax forwarded to the royal treasury from the various mints when the king happened to be residing in Hampshire, or they may have belonged to the Bishop of Winchester, to whom at the time of their deposit the locality belonged. Others again of Edward the Confessor, including five different types, and one variation (which is by some regarded as a distinctive type), formed a part of a hoard of about two thousand silver pennies, which were discovered at Chancton, in Sussex, in 1866, and which have been fully and accurately described by B. V. Head, Esq. These also were for the most part in good preservation, many apparently fresh from the mint. Another hoard, of which full particulars have never been divulged, was discovered in the city, in 1872. Probably it numbered altogether more than seven thousand, chiefly of the reign of Edward the Confessor. Of the entire number two thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine passed through the hands of Mr. E. H. Willett, of St. Martin's, Guernsey, and two thousand two hundred and thirty were deciphered by him. Eight of these had been minted at Cricklade, and were described by him in a paper in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. xvi., New Series. A silver penny, minted at Cricklade, in the time of William I., was also discovered among many others in 1828, in the Burnivale at Malmesbury, in preparing a site for some new buildings. They lay beneath the foundation-stone (which weighed over a ton) of a chapel erected by William the Conqueror upon the spot where the hermitage of Meydulph had originally stood.

The foregoing account will sufficiently elucidate the following catalogue of Cricklade pennies, which, although incomplete, includes all that the writer has either been able to examine, or of which he has succeeded in obtaining a detailed description. It will be found that sixty-one are described, and a few others alluded to.

CATALOGUE OF COINS

MINTED AT CRICKLADE.

N.B.—The writer desires gratefully to acknowledge the obligation he is under to B. V. Head, Esq., of the British Museum; to

J. Herbst, Esq., Inspector of the royal collection of coins at Copenhagen; to the Curator of the Bergen Museum; and to W. Cunnington, Esq., formerly of Devizes, for assistance which they have rendered to him. For the benefit of those who are unacquainted with Saxon characters, he would mention that Ⱥ is the usual sign for A, Ꞇ for C, Ᵹ for G, Ⴝ for S, Ð for Th, Ƿ for W.

The types alluded to are those given in Hildebrand, and the references in parentheses, thus (192 a. 5), are to his catalogue and tables of variations.

Ethelred II.

1.

Type A. (191 a. 4 ir. 60.)

Obverse. King's bust, looking to the left, with diadem inside a circle. *Reverse.* A small single cross in the centre of a circle.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ ÆÐELRÆD RE ✠ ⱭNGL *Rev.* ✠ ÆDELSIGE ON ꞆRⱭꞆGL

2.

Type A. (193 e. 4.) See above.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ ÆÐÆLRÆD REX ⱭNGL *Rev.* ✠ ꞆODEMⱭN ON ꞆROꞆ

3.

Type A. (195 a. 5.) See No. 1.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ ÆÐELRÆD REX ⱭNGLO *Rev.* ✠ TOꞆⱭ ON ꞆROꞆGLⱭD

4.

Type B. (e. 10.)

Obv. King's bust, looking to the right with diadem inside a circle. *Rev.* An open hand, the hand of Providence, between Alpha and Omega, inside a circle. This is a very rare device, being the

only instance in which Greek characters are found on Anglo-Saxon coins.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ ÆÐELRED REX ANGLOX *Rev.* ✠ ÆÐESTAN M-O GROG

N.B.—MO or MON stands for MONETARIVS ON (*i.e.*, AT) The letters OX in ANGLOX are united.

5.

(192 a. 5.)

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLO *Rev.*

6.

Type C. (194 a. 10.)

Obv. King's bust looking to the left, bearded, smooth hair, a sceptre with three knobs at the end, all inside a circle. *Rev.* A double cross in a circle, with a small ring in the centre, and the four letters CRVX in the four angles of the cross.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ ÆÐELRÆD REX ANGLOX *Rev.* ✠ LEOFGOD M-O CROC

The letters OX are united.

Canute.

1, 2.

Type G. (83 b. 1.)

Obv. King's bust, looking to the left, with a peaked helmet, and sceptre with three knobs at the end, the head and sceptre surrounded with a circle. *Rev.* A double cross, the arms of which terminate in a circle inside the inscription, and in a shield with the other rounded ends resting on a shield in the middle, and a small round shield in each angle of the cross.

Stockholm and Copenhagen,

Obv. ✠ CNVT REC.X A *Rev.* ✠ ÆLGELPINE ON CR

3.

Type G. (84 b. 1.) See above.

Stockholm.

A variety of the preceding.

4.

Type E. (85 a. 7.)

Obv. King's bust, looking to the left, with a lily crown, surrounded with a quatrefoil. *Rev.* A large double cross, with crescents at the end of each arm of the cross, with the centre of the coin stamped with a quatrefoil, as on the other side.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV. *Rev.* ✠ ÆLPINE ON CROC

5, 6.

Type E. (86 a. 8.) See above. Plate, Fig. 1.

British Museum and Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ CNVT R · EX ANGLORVM *Rev.* ✠ EÐELPINE ON CROG

7, 8.

Varieties of 5, 6. See No. 4.

Copenhagen, and private collection of Count Bille-Brahe-Selbye.

9.

Type E. See No. 4.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM. *Rev.* ✠ ÆLPINE · ON C · ROG

10.

Type H.

Obv. King's bust, to the left, with a round helmet and diadem, also a sceptre with a lily at the end. *Rev.* A double cross, the arms of which terminate in a circle inside the inscription; in the middle a ring or a point.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT RECX A *Rev.* ✠ ÆLELPINE ON CRŒ

11.

Type G. See Nos. 1, 2.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANN *Rev.* ✠ ÆLE · L · PINE ∵ ON CR · O :

12.

Type G. See Nos. 1, 2.

University Collection at Lund in Scania (Sweden).

Obv. ✠ CNV · T RECX A *Rev.* ✠ PVL·FPINE ON CRO

13.

Type H. See No. 10.

Lund, in Scania.

Obv. ✠ CNVT · RECX : *Rev.* ✠ ÆLFPINE ON CRŒ

14.

Type G. See Nos. 1, 2.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT R · ECX ∵ *Rev.* ✠ ÆL · FPI · NE ON CR · OC

15.

Type H. See No. 10.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT · RECX A *Rev.* ✠ ÆLINE ON CROC

16.

Type E. See No. 4.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* ✠ ÆLPINE ON CROCI :

17.

Type E. 2.

A slight variation upon Type E., not delineated by Hildebrand. Head turned completely round over the right shoulder. Plate, Fig. 2.

British Museum.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* IELPINE ON CR · OCI :

18, 19.

Type E. See No. 4. Plate, Fig. 3.

British Museum and Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM. *Rev.* ✠ GODEMAN ON CROG

[The Copenhagen specimen slightly defective. Edge a little broken. Consequently the letters GLO and DE are missing.]

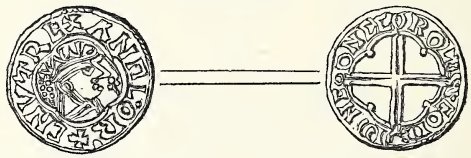
20.

Type E., var. a.

Obv. King's bust to the right, with crown of three lilies and sceptre under the King's nose, enclosed in a quatrefoil, dots at the back of the King's head, by way of hair. *Rev.* Large double cross with crescents at the end of each arm of the cross, upon a quatrefoil like that on the obverse.

"A rare and curious variety." Herbst. See woodcut below.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX AN⊓L · OR *Rev.* ✠GOD : ƿINE ON CCROC



21.

Type G. (87 a. 2) See Nos. 1, 2.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX AN *Rev.* ✠ GODƿINE ON CROC

22.

Type G. See Nos. 1, 2.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT : EX ANGL *Rev.* ✠ GODƿINE : ON CROC :

23, 24.

Type E. (89 a. 7) See No. 4.

Stockholm and Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANGLORV *Rev.* ✠ HILDR · ED MO CR

[MO. See note on Ethelred, No. 4.]

25.

Type E., var. d.

Obv. King's bust, to the left, with round helmet and diadem, inside a quatrefoil.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ LLCVT REX ANLLOR *Rev.* ✠ ƧIDEƿINE ON CROC.

26, 27.

Type E. See No. 4.

Copenhagen, and Count Bille-Brahe-Selbye's collection.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANGLORVM *Rev.* ✠ TOCA ON CRO· LLAD

28.

Type E. See No. 4.

Copenhagen.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANLLOR· *Rev.* ✠ TOCA ON CROLLA

29.

Type E. (92 a. 7) See No. 4.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANLLORV. *Rev.* ✠ TOCA MON CREC

30.

Type E., var. k. Plate, Fig. 4.

Rev. A large double cross, as on the chief type, but no quatrefoil.

British Museum.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANLLORV *Rev.* ✠ TOCA ON ·CRO· CCII

31.

Type E. See No. 4.

Bergen Museum.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ANLLORVM *Rev.* ✠ TOCA ON CEROILA

32.

Type H. (91 a. 2.) See No. 10.

Stockholm.

[Badly executed.]

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ⱭN *Rev.* LIFINC ON CRICLⱭ

33.

(88 a. 4., ir. 33.)

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ CNVT EX ⱭNGL

34.

Type E., f. (90 a. 9.)

Obv. Like Type B., *i.e.*, King's bust to the left, bearded, hair standing on end. No quatrefoil.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ CNVT REX ⱭNGLOX

[N.B.—These two (33, 34) are given in Hildebrand as of the Cricklade Mint, but without any description of the *Rev.*]

Harold I.

1.

Type B. (17 b., ir. 8.)

Obv. King's bust, to the left, in armour, with a round helmet and diadem, also a sceptre with a lily at the end. *Rev.* A double cross, the arms of which terminate at the edge of the coin, and with the other rounded ends resting on a round shield in the middle; a lily in each angle of the cross.

Stockholm.

Obv. ✠ HAROD RECX *Rev.* ✠ ÆLPINNE ON CRO

[N.B.—In addition to the above, Lindsay, in his Coinage of the Heptarchy, alludes to a coin or coins of Harold, bearing the mint-mark CRI.]

Edward the Confessor.

1.

Type A.

Obv. King's bust, to the left, with radiated crown. *Rev.* A small single cross, in the centre of an inner circle.

Copenhagen.

[The latest coin known to the writer as having been found in Denmark or in any part of Scandinavia. N.B.—Danegeld remitted in 1051.]

Obv. ✠ EDƿERD REX Ƭ *Rev.* ✠ ÆLƿINEE ON ⊏RE⊏LI

2, 3.

Type E. Plate, Fig. 5.

Obv. King's bust, to the left, with round helmet and diadem, also a sceptre with three knobs. *Rev.* Cross with expanding limbs, broader end terminating in a circle inside the inscription, peaked ends in a central annulet or shield.

"Probably the last of the earlier types of the Confessor." Head.

One found at Chancton, and now in the British Museum; the other, nearly identical (⊏RE⊏⊏LƬ instead of ⊏RE⊏ELƬ (found in the City, 1872.

Obv. ✠ EDƿE·RD REX: *Rev.* ✠ ÆILƿINE ON ⊏RE⊏ELƬ

4.

Type F. Plate, Fig 6.

Obv. King's bust, to the right, bearded, with a peaked helmet, sceptre in his right hand, with a cross at the end. *Rev.* Double cross, with ring in the centre, each arm terminating in three crescents, the whole confined to the inner circle.

"The first of the later types of this King's reign." Head.

British Museum.

Obv. ✠ EDƿERD REX *Rev.* ✠ ÆIELƿINE ON ⊏RE⊏:

[One of the two first coins recognized as minted at Cricklade.]

5.

Type F. See above.

Found in the City.

Obv. ✠ *Rev.* ✠ ÆILƿINE ON ⊏RE⊏⊏LƬ

6, 7.

Type F. See No. 4. Plate, Fig. 7.

One found at Chancton, now in the British Museum; the other found in the City in 1872.

Obv. ✠ EDƿƬRD REX: *Rev.* ✠ LEOFRED ON ⊏ROC:

8.

Type G. Plate, Fig. 8.

Obv. King's bust to the right, bearded, with a crown of two arches, surmounted by three pearls, also sceptre, with three knobs at the top. *Rev.* Double cross, each arm terminated by an incurved segment of a circle, with pellets at the ends.

Found at Chancton, now in the British Museum.

[Part of the inscription, on the obverse side, badly struck.]

Obv. ✠ LAD*P*ARD R[E] \ *Rev.* ✠ LIOFRED ON CRECEL

9, 10, 11, 12.

Type H. (Type G. of Willett, in his description of the City hoard.) Plate, Fig. 9.

Obv. King, enthroned and crowned, staff or sceptre in right hand, orb and cross in left. *Rev.* Double cross within inner circle. The "arms" of Edward, four martlets, occupying the four angles.

"The obverse of this type is probably imitated from the last silver Roman coins current in England." Head.

One specimen in the British Museum, the others disposed of through Mr. Verity, of Earl's Heaton, to unknown purchasers.

Found in the City, 1872.

Obv. EA*P*ARD REX ANG *Rev.* ✠ ÆGELP*I* · ON CREGGELAD

13.

Type H. See above. Plate, Fig. 10.

Found at Chancton, now in the British Museum.

Obv. ✠ ED*P*ARD REX NGORVM. *Rev.* ✠ LEOFRED ON CREECA

14.

Found in the City, 1872.

Obv. ✠ *Rev.* ✠ EGL*P*INE ON CRICC

15.

Type I. Plate, Fig. 11.

Obv. King's bust, to the right, bearded, crown arched with pendant terminating in three drops; sceptre in front. *Rev.* Double

cross, within inner circle, ring in the centre, a pyramid tipped by a pellet in each angle.

"Last important coinage in this reign." Head.

Found at Chancton, now in the British Museum.

Obv. EADPARD REX *Rev.* ✠ LEOFRED ON CRECLA

16.

Type I., var. a. Plate, Fig. 12. Regarded as a separate type by Willett.

"Found only at Dover, Sandwich, and Cricklade. A very rare full-faced variety." Head.

Found at Chancton, now in the British Museum.

This specimen is "in perfect preservation." Head.

Obv. ✠ EADPARD REX *Rev.* ✠ LEOFRED ON CRECLA

William I. and II.

The following coins are attributed to William the Conqueror in Hawkins's Silver coins of England, but Mr. Lindsay, of Cork, (of whom Mr. Hawkins says that he has great knowledge, and excellent sound judgment in such matters,) in a paper in the Gentleman's Magazine, September, 1835, controverts this view, and considers them to belong to the reign of Rufus, placing No. 3 first in order. He does so, partly, on the ground of two stars to the right and left of the King's bust, which he says are the distinguishing marks of Rufus on his great seal. As this argument, however, does not apply to Nos. 1 and 2, which have no stars, and as they are of the P.A.X.S. type, and therefore, in Ruding's judgment, belong to the Conqueror's reign, I have placed them in the following order.

1. 2.

(*William the Conqueror.*?) Plate, Fig. 13.

One of these was found at Beaworth in Hampshire, and is now in the British Museum. It is numbered 242 in Hawkins. The other is now in the Devizes Museum, having been presented to it as a penny of William I. by the late J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

Obv. The King, full-faced, wears a crown with two arches and three pearls, and holds a cross surmounted sceptre in his right hand, but with his arm across his breast, so that the sceptre is on his left

side. *Rev.* A cross with flat ends inside inner circle, and four rings with the letters P. A. X. S. in the four angles.

Obv. ✠ ƿILLELM REX *Rev.* ✠ IELFƿINE ON ᏟRIᏟ

3.

(*William Rufus.*?) Plate, Fig. 14.

No. 238 in Hawkins' Silver Coins.

[Attributed (interrogatively) by Ruding to Crewkerne, through incorrectly reading it ᏟREEX. It appears to be a duplicate of the penny found at Malmesbury, in 1828.]

Obv. King, full-faced, crown with two arches and three pearls; a star on each side of his face. ✠ ƿILLEM REX ANI

Rev. Cross with ring in the centre, upon a quadrilateral figure with incurved sides, corners tipped with pellets, and each arm of the cross with fleur-de-lys, the whole within inner circle. ✠ LIOFRED ON ᏟRECX

4.

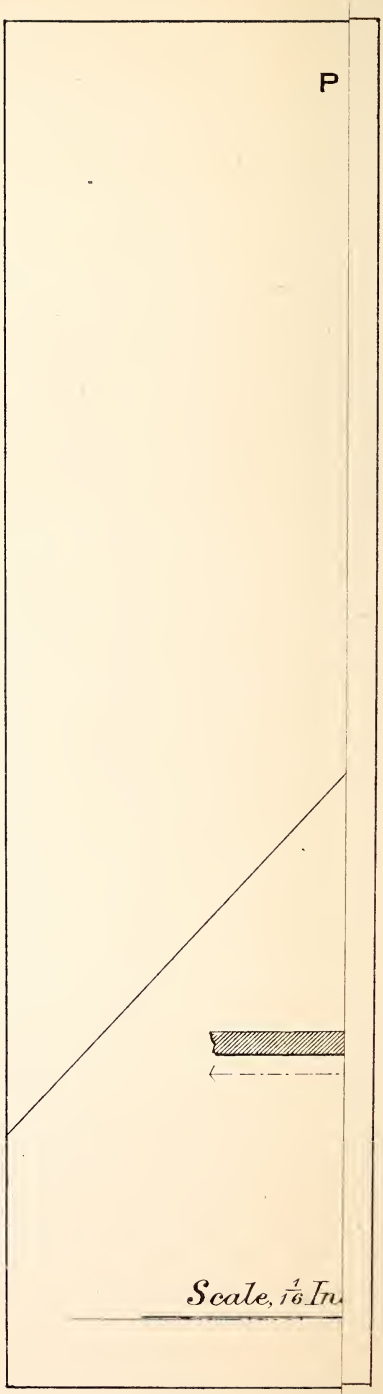
(*William Rufus.*?) Plate, Fig. 15.

Found at Beaworth, now in the British Museum.

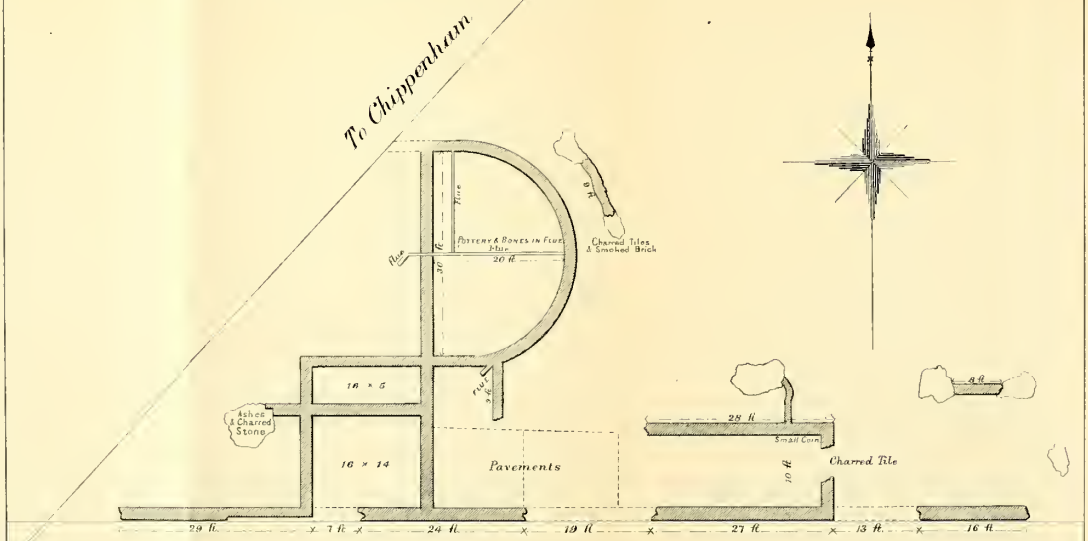
Design on both sides as in No. 3.

Obv. ✠ ƿILLEM REX III *Rev.* ✠ ƿIILSTAN ON ᏟRI

[N.B.—In the reign of William I. and II., perpendicular lines, as in the preceding instance (or even lines like Λ), are used for V and also for A. Thus III stands for A and the first stroke of N. I E is generally used for Æ. The coins of William described above as found at Beaworth are only a part of those which bore the mark of the Cricklade mint. Fifteen such were found in all, bearing on the reverse the inscription :—IELFƿINE ON ᏟRIᏟ., and corresponding to No. 9, 10 in Plate I. in Ruding's Annals of the Coinage. Ruding also speaks of ƿVLSTAN ON ᏟRI occurring on the type of coin No. 6, delineated by him in the same plate, and also found at Beaworth, but of these the writer has discovered no other trace.]


P
Scale, 1/16 In.

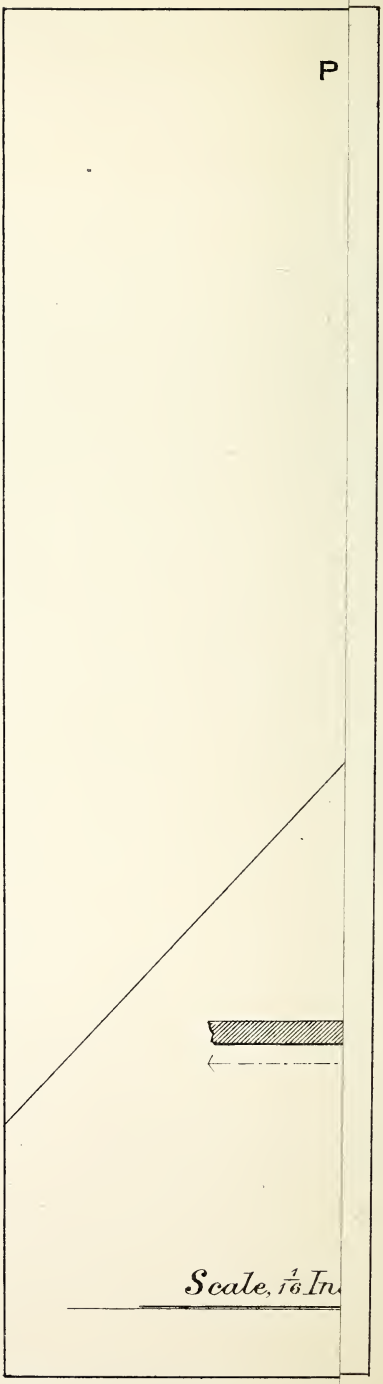
PLAN OF ROMAN VILLA AT BROMHAM, WILTS.



Scale, ½ Inch to a Foot.

EXTREME LENGTH FROM WEST TO EAST 135 FEET.
" " SOUTH TO NORTH 56 "

Williams & Bass, Litho London



Whiteman & Bass, *Litho.* London.

Some account of the Remains of a Roman Villa in the Parish of Bromham.

By the Rev. H. A. Olivier, M.A.

THE Roman villa in question has from time to time for many years past been a subject of interest and enquiry to the archæologists of Wiltshire. So long ago as in Sir Richard Hoare's time it was examined, under the superintendence of Mr. Cunnington, but even then he describes it as having been previously investigated. For the plate showing a coloured representation of the mosaic pavement we must refer our readers to Sir R. C. Hoare's noble volume on North Wilts, but the following extract from the same book will furnish us with the opinion of it as given by our pioneer in Wiltshire antiquities :—

"The fourth and last tesselated pavement which I have to commemorate is situated in the Parish of Bromham near Calne, about three quarters of a mile south of the Roman Station of Verlucio, and on the east side and close to the turnpike road leading from Chippenham to Devizes; having Bromham House a quarter of a mile to the east. The large arable field in which the Roman pavement was discovered is called West Park in the Parish of Bromham. . . . .

"Although I have for the first time been enabled to introduce this Pavement to the public; yet I cannot boast of having been the discoverer of it; but, having heard of its existence, I had the curiosity to see it re-opened in the year 1810, under the superintendence of Mr. Cunnington; and, though it had certainly been investigated previous to our attempt, yet fortunately enough of it was left to make it worthy of record in the annexed plate."

Since the time of Sir R. Hoare, subsequent investigations have been made in the same site, not without injury to the pavement each time it was uncovered: a Roman urn and sundry other relics are

also deposited in the Museum at Devizes, which were found within the precincts of the Bromham villa. But in the autumn of 1880, in consequence of the idea of a thorough re-examination of the whole area occupied by the Roman villa having been entertained, it was deemed advisable to appoint a committee of three persons, including the two Curators of the Society's Museum, to make preliminary excavations, and to report upon the result of their operations. The present paper records their opinion after careful investigation of the spot: while their operations were confined, 1st, to examining the ground for a considerable distance in the neighbourhood of the villa; and, 2nd, to laying bare the foundations of the building, in order to ascertain, as far as possible, its extent.

No indications of other buildings in the neighbourhood of the villa were discovered.

On the actual site, the foundations of a south frontage were opened, extending east and west to a length of 135 feet. A part of this frontage, nearest to the road, measuring twenty-nine feet, was found to be not in exactly the same line with the rest, being slightly set back; and the face of this portion was still further broken by a part being recessed to the depth of about 6 inches.

The greatest length of wall excavated in the direction of north and south was 56 feet, from the front to a point where the building was cut by the road. The foundations of three complete chambers, as well as portions of others, were laid bare. The largest of these, to the extreme north of the excavations, was in the form of, and slightly longer than, a semicircle of 15 feet radius. This was bisected by a hot-air flue, into which another flue ran at right angles. These flues, and the apsidal form of the structure, would point to this portion of the building as devoted to the baths.

In one of the flues a quantity of broken pottery, some of it glazed, was discovered; also a number of the bones of the deer, ox, sheep, goat, and hog. These articles were probably deposited here when the ground was explored in 1840 by the late J. Stoughton Money,[1] Esq., F.S.A., as of little value compared with other archæological

[1] Afterwards the Rev. J. Stoughton Money-Kyrle, Rector of Yatesbury.

treasures discovered upon that occasion. They have been now placed in the Museum at Devizes.

A quantity of bricks and tiling was dug up in the course of the excavations. The bricks varied in thickness, showing different dates of construction.

Only one small copper coin was found, which Mr. Davies, of Wallingford, describes as "of Constantius II. (A.D. 350). On the reverse is a winged victory, standing, holding a wreath, with the inscription LIBERTAS REIPVBLICÆ + and L in the field. The letters LVG prove that it was coined at Lugdunum (Lyons). The coin is interesting as a Christian emblem coin, having a cross on the right side of the figure, on the reverse." This has been also placed in the Museum.

The pavements, which were opened upon the occasion of the visit of the British Archæological Association, in 1880, may, from their position, mark the site of a double reception room, resembling that recently discovered at Brading. A drawing of the pavements as they appeared in 1810 is given in vol. ii. of Sir R. C. Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire. They have been much damaged since that date, and but a small portion of them remains.

The foundations, with the exception of a short length of nine feet, are throughout two feet in width. Nothing was done by way of clearing out the chambers defined by them. As the ground had been worked on three previous occasions (Sir Andrew Baynton having been in the field before Sir R. C. Hoare and Mr. Cunnington) it is not probable that anything of sufficient interest would be discovered to justify the expense of such a work; although some of the problems suggested by the present condition of the remains might be solved by the process.

The excavations recently made have thrown some little light upon the size of the original building, only a portion of which, however, has been thus revealed; as it must have certainly extended further to the west, where it is cut through transversely by the Devizes and Chippenham road.

The plan, which shows the lines of excavation and the foundations discovered, must, it is to be feared, be considered, together with this

brief description, as the last record of this remnant of Roman dominion. It is to be wished that some effort could have been made to rescue the remaining portion of the pavements, at any rate, from the sure destruction which awaits them. The claims of Dame Ceres and John Barleycorn are paramount in these days; and the pick and ploughshare of the Anglo-Saxon have no tenderness for the massive handiwork of the once masters of the world. And, as it is believed that the next work on this interesting site will be the removal of the foundations lately exposed; it is feared that it must be said of this slight monument, as of the Power to which it testifies—"*fuit.*"

On some Ancient Charters relating to North Newenton.

Vicarage,
Bradford-on-Avon,
January, 1881.

Dear Sir,

As you refer rather pointedly to me, in some notes appended by yourself to a paper in your last number, on an ancient charter relating to North Newnton, you will not think me, I hope, presuming too much, if I make a few additional observations upon it.

I make these remarks in no spirit of captious criticism, but simply because, for reasons that I will give, I am able to throw a little additional light upon the matter.

Your correspondent, by not referring to the original Anglo-Saxon charters, but working only from an obscure Latin translation, made evidently by some mediæval scribe who must have had but an imperfect knowledge of the original language, has had but a poor chance at best.

I venture to give the charters themselves, with a translation. I will not attempt to translate the proper names; not a few of them are, I am persuaded, the corrupt forms of some personal name, the memory of which has long since

perished. This is the case with such words as "Moten-*es*" and "Ciolt-*an*," the italicised termination being in each case the form of the possessive case. Of course the well-nigh thousand years, that have since passed, have still further corrupted the original forms, and the few that remain are but very fragments at best.

To two derivations suggested by your correspondent I must be bold enough at once to demur altogether. It is a well-known rule, that, in proportion to its apparent ingenuity, any interpretation is to be doubted. Even supposing that the corrupt form "Cats-Brain,"—which, by the way, is a name also given to a place near Stanton Fitz-Warren—could possibly be in its former portion a corruption of "*castra*," the word would in English become "chester," and appear in composition, at *the end*, and not at *the beginning* of the name, *e.g.*, Win-chester; Man-chester; Il-chester, &c. Moreover the fabulous "Brennus," seems, like Vespasian, near Amesbury, to have been extemporised for the nonce, to account for a name.

Then again, the name of "Bohun" was given to Manningford from one of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford. It is no slight anachronism to suppose that it can account for the name "Botan-wylle," found in a charter dated some four hundred years before they had the least connection with the place.

Very faithfully yours,

W. H. Jones.

The Editor of the Wiltshire Archæol. Mag.

There are two charters relating to North Newnton printed by Kemble in the Codex Diplomaticus. The *first*, which simply has reference to what may be called North Newnton proper, is dated A.D. 892, and is No. 320; the *second*, which is dated A.D. 933, and is No. 1109, embraces a grant, not only of North Newnton, but of an estate described as "Æt ðam oran" or "Æt Moten-es oran."

I first give the earlier charter, and the corresponding portion of the second:—

Charter of Ælfred A° 892.

Ærest bi Æfene stæde on Stintes-ford; ðonne on Risc-slæd[1]; ðonne on Cioltan[2]-ford; ðonne	First by Avon-stead to Stintes-ford; thence to *Rushall*; thence to Ciolt-ford; thence to *Wilsford*;

[1] That is, literally, the "Rushy-plain," or open tract of country.

[2] I believe this to be a corruption for Ceorltan (=Charlton), and that the "*Teoltan*-ford" of the second charter is a clerical error for "*Ceorltan*-ford."

on Wifles-ford; ðonne swá ondlong weges tó Sond-beorge[1]; ðonne to Botan-welle[2]; ðonne bi wiodde; ðonne ofer wiod on ðone gæran[3]; and swá eft on Afene.

then so along the way to *Swanborough*; thence to Bot-well; thence by wood; thence over wood to the *gore*; and so again to the Avon.

Charter of Æðelstan A° 933.

Ærest on Avene æt Stintesford; ðæt andlang weges on Teoltan-ford; and swá ongean streám on Wiflesford; ðon andlang ðæs friðerpaðes[4] on Sandbeorh[1]; of ðam beorge to Botanwylle[2]; ðonne forð on Blacanlace[5]; ðæt andlang lace[5] on Afene; and swa andlang strémes eft on Stintesford.

First at the Avon at Stintesford; thence along the way to Teolt-ford; and so along the stream to *Wilsford*; thence along the high-road to *Swanborough*; from that barrow [or hill] to Bot-well; thence forth to Blacklegh; then along the legh to the Avon; and so along the stream again to Stintesford.

Local knowledge may be able to track out some names still remaining. Thus much I may say, that the general conclusion at which I arrived, now some years ago, after having, together with two friends—one the lamented Dr. Thurnam, and another then holding the curacy of a neighbouring parish—done our best to interpret the charters, was *this*, that the land-limits described start

[1] This is probably the origin of SWANBOROUGH, the name of the hundred in which North Newnton is situated. There is on the road from Woodborough to Wilcot a place called Swanborough Ashes.

[2] "*Bot*-an wylle" is most probably where *Bot*-les-ford is at the present time.

[3] There is still a place called "The Gore" in the border-line next to Beechingstoke; the meaning of the word "gár" is a projecting portion of land, a promontory, &c.

[4] "Friðer-pað" is probably a corruption for "Here-pað" (=high-way). The word "Frið" means, literally, "peace" or "privilege." Frið-borh meant the mutual security which men of the same manor or tithing gave for each others' good conduct. It is difficult to see, if it be not a corruption, what its exact meaning can be.

[5] Blacan-*lace*—the latter portion is probably a mistake for "*læge*" (=legh)—and the whole word possibly means the "bleak" or "exposed" leigh, or plain.

from the south-east corner of the parish, where the parishes of Upavon, Rushall, and North Newnton meet, and then, skirting the northern boundaries of Rushall and Charlton, come to Cotton-ham[1]; thence they go on to Wyvlesford (=Wilsford), and next in a north-east direction to *Bot*-lesford (the site, I believe, of "*Bot*-an wylle" in the charter); they then proceed southwards till they come again to the point of starting.

The latter portion of the second charter, which is described as "Æt ðam oran," *i.e.*, literally, "at the edge or border"—at "the border" of Savernake Forest—and elsewhere as "Æt Moten-*es* oran," from the name of some old owner or dweller there—(may "*Moten*" be still preserved in *Martin*-sell?)—is as follows:—

Ærest on hæselwylle; ðæt andlang weges on Beorh-díc; ðonne andlang ðære dic on riscðyfel; and swá west onbútan on bradan stan; of ðam stáne on rugan díc; donen on Lúsa-beorg; ðæt andlang weges on Reádan-sloh; and swá to Wodnes-dic; ðonne forð be ðáre díc on Crypel-geat; ðonne to Drægstáne; and swá to Meos-leage; of ðáre leage andlang oxna[2] pæðes eſt on Hæsel wylle.

First at Hasel-well; then along the way to Barrow-dike [or hill-dyke]; thence along the dike to a rush-bed [?]; and so west about to a broad stone; from that stone to the hoar dike; thence to Lusa-barrow [or hill]; thence along the way to Read-slow; and so to *Wansdyke*; thence forth by the dyke to Crypel-gate; thence to Drægstan; and so to Meos-legh; from that legh along the path by the river again to Hasel-well.

I do not presume to seek to interpret this portion of the charter. It is more than possible that, in talking with some of the Wiltshire peasantry, some of these names—it may be in a strangely distorted form—may be discovered in one or other of the boundary-points of

[1] The first portion of this name, which may well be supposed to have "*Ceolt*-an-ham," and which is a very short distance from "*Cats*-brains," may not unfairly be supposed to have been derived from the same source, whatever that may have been; and this can hardly in any case be from "*castra*."

[2] It is not unlikely that "*ox*-na" may be a corruption of a word which in various forms, such as "*ax*," "*usk*," and "*ox*"—(as in *Ox*-ford)—means water. See *Wilts Mag.*, xiv., 157.

Rainscomb, that being the estate to which it refers. There are still noted in the map remains of ancient fortifications, and in the neighbourhood are many old barrows, which may possibly account for some of the names, though the word *beorg* or *beorh* means a *hill* as well as a *tumulus*. Anyhow the charter is interesting as shewing us the large extent of Safernoc (Savernake) Forest in ancient days, and in enabling us to trace the eastward course of Wansdyke, as it would seem to have touched, at one point, what we now call Rainscomb.

One word more may be added: namely, that there are few Anglo-Saxon manuscripts more imperfectly written, or in which there are so many evident mistakes of the scribe, as the Harl. MS. 436, from which the charters given above are taken. Every consideration is therefore due to those who are venturesome enough to attempt to interpret them.

W. H. J.

On Devizes Castle.

By Tom Burgess, Esq., F.S.A.

(Read before the British Archæological Association, at Devizes, August, 1880.)

NO idea of reading a paper on this subject occurred to me until the day following the visit of the Association to Devizes Castle; but when I learned how little was known of the Castle or of its origin, I yielded to a request made to me, and would now attempt to throw some light upon what appears to be an obscure passage in the history of Devizes. My knowledge of the subject is derived from analogy, from a visit to many fortified places, from a study of earthworks extending over many years, and from the comparison of ideas and experiences with those who have a deep and

somewhat intimate knowledge of the subject. I feel that I owe this explanation to the people of Devizes, and if in my preliminary remarks, I may touch on what appears to be trite and known subjects to the veteran archæologists whom I see around me, they will probably excuse me, as it is a necessary prelude to the particular subject of my remarks.

On Wednesday evening as I listened to my friend, Mr. Brock's description of the Viking's Ship, in which he was, as usual, as exact as he was eloquent, I could not help recalling to mind the old Saxon poem of Beowulf, in which the old chieftain wished to be buried on the nose of some promontory, so that his funeral mound might be at once a landmark and a tomb, a grave and a living memorial of the dead. If we could only realise this grand notion of the old sea king being ready at the final day to go forth to sea at the call of his gods to fight and to conquer, we should realise to a greater extent than at present the reason why so many instruments and weapons of war were buried with their owner's remains, and of which so many beautiful specimens are preserved in your valuable and excellent museum.

It is not, however, of these ancient warriors I am about to speak, but of the earthworks they built to defend their dwelling places, and the mounds they left behind them. It is but proper to speak reverently of these in the county of Wilts, for there is probably no other county in England which presents so many features of interest to the student of the past as the county which has given us so warm a welcome this week. It is replete with so many memories—is studded with so many monuments of the old fathers of the land, as to offer an almost unrivalled field for the research and the study of antiquity. There is scarcely a headland or a hillock that rises above the grassy slopes of the Wiltshire Downs that has not some remains to indicate the old inhabitants—fastnesses in which they kept their household treasures, or barrows in which they buried their dead. On the one hand you see those mysterious circles which are supposed to indicate their temples, and on the other the far-stretching dykes which seem to say to the neighbouring tribes, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further." In front of the great Wansdyke, and nearly

in its centre, stands the high mound on which was erected the Castle of Devizes. The old inhabitants characteristic alike of Celt and Teuton—of Belgæ and Cymri, seized in ages past on this mound of green sand; they threw out the soil on one side to make a rampart, and on the other to increase the already formidable height which forms so conspicuous a feature in the landscape. On this height, when the people were becoming somewhat reconciled to the rule of a Norman king, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, built a noble castle, for the glory of the Church and the advancement of his power. Its plans did not differ greatly from that adopted by military architects of the period, and by a comparison with the remains of contemporaneous structures which still exist they could form a tolerably exact idea of its plan and the mode of its defence.

Ere, however, I enter upon the existing remains, I would dwell for a few brief moments on the origin of these great entrenchments, and trace their progress and development through their subsequent history. It is, and has been, too much the fashion to pronounce this entrenchment British, or that Roman—the other Saxon or Danish, as the case may be; but in reality military positions of great strength would commend themselves to any nation who had property to be defended or who were in a hostile country. It is not, however, every entrenchment that is a fortified post. Some that we see around us were only cattle pounds, whilst others were the fortified ramparts of a sept or tribe who owed allegiance to their chosen king. Others, like the mound of Devizes, and Old Sarum, were probably the strongholds of a nation and the chosen gathering-place of the clans. Kent, we know, had four of these tribal or separate kings, and the remains of the Dane John at Canterbury (with the entrenchments which have been so interfered with by the railway works) were a type of a fortified mound like that of Devizes. I use the word fortified mound advisedly, for there are mounds existing, which, though used for interment, were like those of Beowulf, erected also as landmarks—posts of observation or speculi. Many of you will doubtless recollect that our late treasurer, Mr. Gordon Hills, had a theory that many, if not all these were either of Roman construction, or had been adapted by that people for the

purpose of a general survey of the country, though many of these simple mounds or tumuli are found in low-lying situations where they would have been of little use for such a purpose. The fortified mound was different from these, though some of them had a slight rampart round their base. The fortified mound had not only a vallum and agger, of various extent, but had other earthworks around them which show that they were intended for habitation, for the residence of a number of people, and that means were provided for defence against marauders. There are other mounds frequently of large size which were erected by the sides of rivers, with a view first of indicating a ford, and subsequently to defend the passage of the river against a hostile foe. There are also smaller ones which were used, even in mediæval times, as the residence of the local St. Christopher, whose business it was, as shown in the earliest dated woodcuts, to guide people across the river and to indicate the ford at night by means of a lantern. It is somewhat curious that whilst many of these mounds and the adjacent sites were formed into Roman stations and mediæval castles, they were not always used, as at Devizes, for the substructure of a donjon or keep. Two or three very familiar instances occur to me. At Leicester the *Ratæ Coritani* of the Itineraries, the mound is situated on the river side, within the Roman boundary, and also within the Norman castle precincts, but there is no sign of there ever having been a building upon it. At Warwick, the mound attributed to Ethelfleda in the tenth century has the remains only of some fourteenth century masonry on it. It is situated by the side of the Avon. It marks a ford, but neither the De Newburghs, nor their Norman descendants, seem to have erected any building—certainly not a keep —upon it. At Canterbury the Norman keep is a long way from the Dane John, and instances might be multiplied to a great extent, but they tend to show that a mound, even if existing at the time, was by no means a necessity of Norman fortification. I need only mention Worcester, the city which at present is my home; there the mound was by the side of the river. It was wholly artificial, and when it was removed a few years since Roman, Saxon, and mediæval relics were found, most of which have been figured; but

the most remarkable discovery was not that the mound was composed of gravel from the adjacent Severn, but that it was thrown up at a time when the tide flowed past Worcester, for it contained the remains of shells that are not now found in the Severn save where the tide affects it. There are also mounds and "lowes" which were the meeting places of the earlier tribes, and subsequently of the inhabitants in Saxon times. On Martinmas morning, even at the present day, the inhabitants of the old hundred of Knightlow in the county of Warwick assemble at the site of the old mound to pay their wrath money, and Dugdale has preserved the proceedings of the Saxon mote which was held at Molslow Hill in the same county, which took place in mediæval times. These, though used by the people under Saxon rule, were earlier in construction, and were not the work of that timber-working, tree-felling Nimrodic race. Fortified mounds were seldom, if ever, used for this purpose, though it is possible that Silbury may have been the scene of a national Tynwald like those which periodically take place in the Isle of Man when the new laws are proclaimed to the people. Fortified mounds, though of varying sizes and of several types, have many features in common. Though the exigences of site and of the people who built them might vary somewhat there is not one of the many scores I have visited which does not present the same general features. There is the mound, sometimes natural, sometimes artificial, and sometimes a compound of both, like the mound of Devizes, adapted and altered by the military architect, who surrounds it first by a ditch, then by a vallum or valla, each of them in turn being strengthened by pallisades and stockades, and then, if the area is not large enough a further area is added to form a courtyard or "faha!" as it is called in Ireland, in which the young men could exercise and into which the cattle could be driven in case of attack or for safety at night. There is another feature which is seldom neglected or overlooked. Means of retreat must be found as well as of defence, and one feature of this kind I have noted in so many that it may be said generally to comprise all. If we take the mound to be the citadel of the entrenchment, for it is placed on the strongest position possible, so that the outworks are sure to be attacked first

—if the defenders are beaten they can retreat to the stronghold, and if still hardly pressed, they take advantage of the night to escape by a path known only to themselves into the neighbouring marsh, bog, forest, or ford, where strangers and heavily-armed troops could not and dare not follow them. I have in my mind's eye a small but typical illustration of these features. It has never been described. It is situated at Kineton in the county of Warwick, within the lines occupied by the Parliamentary troops at the Battle of Edge-hill. The mound is entirely artificial, and not more than sixty to eighty feet across the top. The mound itself is from twenty to twenty-five feet high above the level of the ditch, which is partly surrounded by a rampart similar to the one depicted before you. The mound is further enclosed in the horns of two overlapping lunettes defended by fosses, and beyond these are the remains of a slight embankment of sufficient size to hold the cattle and domestic animals of so small an establishment. It is situated on the fork of a small river, hence its name Kyndun, corrupted into Kineton or Kington. To the north was the burial place of the chieftains, and from which have been exhumed British urns, pottery, and signs of cremation. The present town lies away to the south between this fortified position and the steep oolitic bluffs known as the Edge-hills, and which form part of the vale of the Red Horse. Seccington, which was the site of a Mercian battle, is of a larger but similar construction to this, and Brinklow, which I alluded to on Wednesday as being situated on the direct line of the Fosse Roman way, which diverges to avoid it, is another instance. There are present, doubtless, many of the Associates who stood with me on the Castle Hill at Huddersfield, during the Sheffield Congress, who will recognize in the hill fortress of the Brigantes this feature, which is very marked. In cases where the mound was large enough it was seen simply but elaborately fortified by a series of over-lapping ramparts and extensive fosses like old Oswestry, or by linchets as in the hour-glass fortifications of the Herefordshire Beacon—the great border stronghold of the Silures. That your hill side was fortified in this manner, there is scarcely a doubt, when the dawn of written history throws its light o'er this land. There was a forest on one side and

a marsh on the other, whilst far off were the bleak and breezy downs, when the Roman legions came upon the scene. We know that Vespasian, accompanied by his son Titus, after subduing the Attrebattii pursued his way westward to encounter the Belgæ and the Durotriges, whose territory lay between his troops and the coveted land of tin—in the country of the Damnoni. We have a picture of him and his troops struggling through the tangled forest, harrassed now by petty skirmishes as well as by the difficulties of the country.

We know that when he emerged from these difficulties he found a broad open expansive country—a rolling grassy country—intersected by deep valleys. The hills bristled with earthworks, of the most formidable kind, and there are evidences that many of these had to be stormed ere the Roman legions could pursue their victorious march westwards. We may fairly surmise that during this march he came across the great oppidum of Devizes, and from the remains found, it would appear that the soldiers of the Empire over which he and his son afterwards ruled occupied this spot, and for more than four hundred years it remained in their possession—a strong and defensive post. This occupation of a British post was not uncommon. We find a Roman castrum in a corner of Hodhill in Dorsetshire. The camp at Oldbury on the Watling street-way has been transformed into a Roman summer camp, and a score of other instances might be adduced. During the subsequent time the forests which impeded the Roman legions disappeared. They had sheltered Alfred, and the chalky cliffs which had witnessed his crowning victory, instead of being the boundary of the wild woodland, now fringe smiling cornfields, fertile pastures and clustering orchards, whilst bearing on their proud and heaving bosoms the insignia under which he fought and conquered. For five hundred long years the history of Devizes and its castle is a blank. A few pieces of black pottery, a buckle or two, and a vague rumour that a fortress was still maintained on the heights is all we know. The Saxon had conquered the Romano-British, and in their turn they had to fight for the land they had won and made their own. There are no outward signs visible of Saxon occupation; no little causeway of herring-bone work such as Ethelfleda left behind her when she fortified the

mound at Tamworth; but the remains above have a strange similarity to the Norman Castle which the Marmions built on that famous site. At the first glance at the Castle of Devizes as it stands, its marvellously strong position strikes even the unprofessional eye. Its steep mounds, deep ditch, the strength of its outward rampart, and the mighty slopes that form the glacis beyond, show that nature had assisted art in making it impregnable in days when gunpowder was not. When we come to examine it in detail, and with the evidences revealed by the spade, we can see that its strength was not overrated by the historians who first recorded its existence. We are told that the Castle of Devizes owes its existence to Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, the Chancellor and Treasurer of Henry the First, and we find it mentioned by contemporaneous and successive writers as "the most splendid fortress in Europe;" but as far as I can learn the only description of the castle is that given by Leland, and the indications of repairs enumerated in the Close Rolls. We know, however, the general plan of a Norman Castle, to have but little difficulty in describing it. Norman keeps were of more than one kind. When situated on low-lying ground, the site was fixed so that its water defences should be extensive and complete.

The keeps, in these instances, were almost univerally square or rectangular, with square turrets on each corner, more or less prominent. The set-off was prominent and sharp, and so arranged that a missile from above would rebound on the heads or breasts of the assailants. The basement story was devoted to military stores and was barely lighted. The ground-floor between the towers formed the common hall and garrison room, and above it was the great chamber of the lord. The entrance to the keep in the early castles was by a staircase in what is termed a fore building, and which may yet be seen in Rochester, and it was so arranged that only one or two persons could enter abreast, so that it could be easily defended. In one corner turret the well was generally situated, which communicated with the second floor; in the opposite turret was the garderobe and rubbish receptacles, and the other turrets were devoted to staircases, one being reserved for the lord and his family, and the other for the garrison. The windows on the lower

stories were simply loops deeply splayed inwards, and were unglazed. They were usually supplied with leathern curtains or mantelets, which could be removed at will in times of peace. The parapet, which was of slight projection, afterwards gave way to the hoarding and brallish which preceded the machecoulis. The keep walls were of immense thickness, and it was, on the whole, a picture of inert rude strength. The enclosure in which it stood was divided into two courts or baileys—the inner and the outer—the walls were strengthened by towers and mural bastions, and the entrance was guarded by a smaller but exceeding strong out-work, sometimes double bastions, and moated, connected by drawbridges, and defended by massive gates and iron portcullises. These again were connected with the castle enclosure by a drawbridge, which was guarded on either side by strong towers, and between these towers was a species of gallery or bretache, which overhung the bridge and enabled the defenders to pour melted lead, and cast other missiles on the assailants, if they got so far. The fosse or ditch was wet or dry according to circumstances, and sometimes wet only at the barbican entrance, which appears to have been the case here. The various towers and gatehouses were separate and complete fortresses in themselves, and were usually known by the names of the knights, who were bound by virtue of the tenure on which they held these lands to defend them. We have a list of these knights preserved in connection with Devizes Castle. A chapel was invariably provided, and there were usually one or two postern or little gates, which led to the water or fishponds, and were sometimes used as sallyports. It is usual in visiting a castle that has been "slighted" or otherwise gone to ruin to enquire for these main features, for though altered according to the varied fashion, or by improvements which experience dictated, the main features remained. The Castle of Devizes presents some features which differ from many castles. When Bishop Roger began to build his castle he first built a strong outer wall along the edge of the rampart, which must have existed before his time or it would not have borne the foundations. He placed towers at the corners, and he provided for a sally port opposite the well which lies between the town ditch and the wall where Mr. Leach's

kitchen garden now stands. His skilled military workmen found probably outside these entrenchments a rampart at some distance in the park, which had been the home of the villeins and serfs of the Saxon thane, who held it. This was the weak side of the defences. A ditch of great depth was cut now or a century later, when John Marachal was governor, through the Bear yard, at the back of the Crown inn, and so on to the westward, until the natural features of the ground joined it with the castle ditch. On the other side it terminated over the railway. This piece of ground was walled and turretted and gated until no hostile force could possibly pass to the castle without the permission of the garrison. The position was thus secured, and on the top of the mound the castle proper, and the domestic buildings, with the gate-houses, were then erected. Leland thus describes it—"There is a castle on the west side of the town, stately advanced upon an high ground, defended partly by nature and partly with dykes, the earth whereof is cast up aslope, and that of a great height, for the defence of the wall. This castle was made in Henry the First's days by one Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, Chancellor and Treasurer to the King. Such a piece of castle work, so costly and strong, was never afore set up by any bishop in England. The keep or donjon, set upon an hill cast up by hand, is a piece of work of incredible cost. There appears in the gate of it six or seven places for portculleses, and much goodly building was in it. It is now (1540-1542) in ruins; and part of the front of the towers of the gate of the keep, and the chapel in it, were carried full unprofitably, into the building of Master Baynton's house at Bromham, scant three miles."

Mr. Burgess then, by means of two plans of the castle, which he had prepared from the description given by Leland, pointed out to the audience its several features as they had probably from time to time been introduced and modified.

The Chairman (Lord Nelson) having thanked Mr. Burgess for his very full and interesting account of the castle, and more particularly his explanatory references to other earthworths, said it appeared to him that the matter which had been brought before them, by a gentleman so well acquainted with old castles and

earth-works, would form a most valuable addition to any future history of the place. He concurred with Mr. Burgess that the old entrance was probably by Castle Lane, and that opinion coincided with the lines laid down by Leland.

After some remarks by Mr. Cunnington, Lord Nelson said he regretted that Mr. Burgess had not been with them at Vespasian's Camp, which, it seemed to him, was very similar to Bratton Castle. On the previous day he had walked with Mr. Meek across the ground which belonged to Old Park by the side of a very deep ditch. He did not know whether Mr. Burgess had been out so far or not? On Mr. Burgess replying that he had not seen it, Lord Nelson added that it went down the green lane and partly surrounded Mrs. Smith's property, and he believed that ground had always been granted along with the castle, as a dowry, in olden times, to the Queens of England, and appealed to Mr. Smith as to the connection of the Old Park ditch with the castle.

The Rev. A. C. Smith said that it had always been considered as the castle ditch; and the Old Park estate as the "chase" belonging to the castle: the ditch in question is not only very broad and deep, but a considerable portion of it is, even in the driest summers, filled with water, which has supplied cattle in times of drought, when all the ponds of the neighbourhood are dry. One particular spot in this ditch is known as the "Deer's Leap," probably from some traditional tale of olden time.

This raised the question as to where the fish-pond and mill were situated. There must have been a fish-pond: a fish-pond was almost a necessity; and also a mill, and as a wind-mill was out of the question, there must have been a water supply for that purpose. Could it be shown that the old town ditches were represented by a running stream sufficient to turn a water mill?

Mr. Cunnington said he was strongly of opinion, and had been for many years, that the valley below was dammed across, and probably sufficient water was retained to keep up the supply of fish. Certainly there was more than a morass there, and it must have been a sheet of water of some size. When the railway was being constructed, and the foundations of the bridge were being dug out, the

ground at the depth of three or four feet was just of the nature of the soil that would be found at the bottom of a lake or pond, and contained, what to his mind was conclusive, namely, fresh water shells, such as were now found in great abundance in Drew's Pond. His impression was that this sheet of water might have been as large as Drew's Pond. There might have been a windmill on the castle mound at the time the place was occupied as a castle, and many of them were familiar with the fact that there were two windmills there used for grinding snuff during the past century.

Mr. Brock said there was an old plan of the castle which showed the contour of the borough, and another plan, of later date, showing the boundaries of the two parishes as at present; and if they followed the lines of the valley and of the ancient watercourse, such as Mr. Burgess had been describing, they would find about midway a little quadrangular enclosure, surrounded by a watercourse, which would give Mr. Burgess an extremely good place for his mill;[1] and if they supposed that below that again there was an embankment, as Mr. Cunnington had said, they would get motive power sufficient for the mill, and enhance the beauty of the castle generally. He was glad that Mr. Burgess and himself were both agreed as to the building which many people had supposed to be the keep. They agreed pretty nearly as to the site. As to the shape of it they differed. He could not think it was square, but round or octagonal or some other form, but not square. It was misleading to lay down a hard and fast line that all Norman keeps were quadrangular, for such was by no means the case.

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[1] The little quadrangular enclosure, surrounded by a watercourse, lies in the midst of a line of water-meadows on the Old Park estate: it was generally known as the "Keeper's Lodge" from lack of any better information as to its origin, though why a keeper's cottage should be thus surrounded by a deep and broad moat, like a moated grange, was not so apparent. Henceforth it would be known as the "Castle Mill," its true origin being in all probability that suggested by Mr. Brock and Mr. Burgess. [Ed.]

"Notes on Poulshot."

By the Rev. H. A. Olivier *(Rector)*.

(Read upon the occasion of the visit of the British Archæological Association, August, 1880.)

THERE is very little of archæological or architectural interest to be found in our Church and village. The Church, indeed, is an example—daily becoming more rare—of an unrestored Church and may be regarded by some with interest on that account; as the fabric tells something of its own history. That history may be traced out by others more competent than myself. I would simply call attention to the fact, that there were considerable additions made to the original Early English structure in the sixteenth century, to which period the square-headed Perpendicular windows belong. The narrow aisles, included with the nave under a single roof, have been pointed out as unusual; and the little flying buttress in the north aisle is a pretty contrivance. I cannot, however, suppose that the original plan of the nave followed its present lines; but should rather judge that, at any rate on the north, the aisle was wider. I am led to this supposition by the fact that foundations of an outer wall were discovered when the present vestry was built.

If a wider aisle existed on the south, it is difficult to account for the position of the porch, except upon the supposition that it was moved by the sixteenth century workers, who are responsible for the square-headed windows there and on the opposite side of the Church.

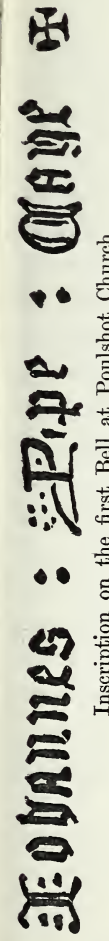
They also lengthened the chancel to its present proportions, which are somewhat irregular in relation to the nave, which is the shorter of the two. They must have moved the priests' door further east, and replaced it by the not very beautiful square window—probably subjected to after-treatment at the hands of churchwardens—which now too intensely illumines that part of the building. The original size of the chancel may be approximately made out from the outside;

indeed the line of junction between the old and new work may be traced in the plaister inside; showing that it extended somewhat beyond the large pointed window on the north.

I must call your attention to the early grisaille glass which has been inserted, without reference to pattern, in the eastern-most window in the south wall of the chancel. You will have doubtless noticed as you entered, the holy-water stoup and the bracket above the door, which might support a figure of St. Peter, our patron saint. The steps leading to the rood-loft are visible from the north aisle.

Of monuments we have none of any interest. Poulshot has not been favoured as the residence of any of the great of the earth. Many of its rectors have been non-resident, and, with some exceptions, their bones rest elsewhere. The small brass plate on the altar step is curious for its punning inscription to one who was "White in vertues as in name;"—not a very interesting person. The dole stone near the porch closely resembles one at Potterne, and may be regarded as a monument of the connection which once existed between the two parishes.

We boast an archæological puzzle in the inscription upon the first of our three bells; the oldest, and the purest in tone of the three. The others bear the date 1606, and the simple inscriptions, "Serve God," and "Prayse God," with the initials of the well-known John Wallis, of Salisbury. I have endeavoured to get a rubbing of the inscription on the first, which is in black letter, and have arrived at the conclusion that the interpretation of Mr. Lukis cannot be correct. He reads it:—"Sanc: ✠ Johannes: Xpe." The rubbings are indistinct, as I had to work in a great measure blindly; and the letters and parts of letters do not lie in the same plane. The small Maltese cross would indicate the space between the beginning and ending of the legend;



Inscription on the first Bell at Poulshot Church.

and I cannot myself claim for the inscription more than the name or sign manual of the bell-founder. The words of the inscription are separated by long intervals, and appear—as near as can be given —as on the preceding page.

I submit our paten and chalice for inspection. The cover of the chalice bears the date 1576. I should be glad to think the chalice to be of the same age. The comparatively modern ornament, IHS within rays, engraved on it, may be a recent addition.

The paten bears a name, dear to lovers of "the gentle craft," Isaac Walton—son, however, of "Piscator,"—Rector of this parish from 1681. The name of John Squire appears in the registers next to his in 1730, but the handwriting changes at 1720, and again at 1724. It cannot be proved, therefore, from the registers when his incumbency ceased. He certainly was not buried here. This Isaac Walton's mother was sister to Bishop Ken, the non-juring Bishop of Bath and Wells. When the Bishop was residing at Longleat, where he found a home, he frequently visited his nephew in the rectory here; and in 1703 he was in some peril, owing to the displacement of a beam during the great storm which swept over the country in that year. The same storm wrecked the palace at Wells, and Bishop Kidder, who had been appointed to the see from which Ken had been ejected, perished in the ruins. As we have no historical interest attaching to the place, I cling with some satisfaction to this fact of the residence of the good Bishop in this parish, and to the thought that he must have worshipped in this Church.

Our registers date from 1627, and are merely the hum-drum unbroken record of baptisms, marriages, and burials, diversified here and there by the occurrence of such strange names as Jerusha, Ishkah (? Issachar), Grecion, Merriel, Angel, Unity, and—the parents must have had some spite against their son—Ahab.

There is one scrap of traditional interest of which I should be glad to make something. It is stated in Mr. Waylen's History of Devizes, I suppose on good authority, that King Edward I., once, if not oftener, dated from Paul's holte, as the name was originally read. This would indicate the presence of a hunting lodge or some such building, where Majesty might be entertained. The only

possible indication of such a place is to be found in the field behind the Church farm, where there is the appearance of a moat, and where wrought stones have been dug up. If, however, we may not boast of the former presence of Royalty, we have the present satisfaction of feeling that we have been considered worthy of a visit by so learned and honoured a body as the British Archæological Association.

[Since the above was in type, the rubbings of the inscription on the first bell have been submitted to the author of "Church Bells in Sussex," who is an expert in such matters. He explains it "Johannes Xpe (for Xpi) Care." He says, "It is a very common inscription on bells dedicated to St. John; and, like many others, contains an error—giving an ꝛ for an ı. 'O John beloved of Christ' would be the expected inscription on bells dedicated to St. John. The date would be Henry VII. or early Henry VIII. There was a bell-founder at the above epoch at Salisbury; but, barring the X of Xpe, the letters look like those of the usual London type."

On the Consuetudinary of S. Osmund.

By William Henry Jones, M.A., F.S.A.,

Canon of Sarum and Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

AMONG churchmen in England of the eleventh century there was no one better known or more esteemed than Osmund, who, in the year 1078, became Bishop of Sarum. His diocese, uniting in itself the two older ones of Ramsbury and Sherborne, was by no means of small extent, for it comprised what we now call the counties of Wilts, Berks, and Dorset. Without entering on the doubtful question whether he were Earl of Dorset, we know that he was of exalted position in Normandy, his native

country, that he was connected with the Conqueror by ties of affinity, and was employed by him in high and important offices. He had, therefore, special opportunities for carrying out, at all events in the church which he ruled, any improvement that might be necessary, either in its liturgical forms, or its outward ritual.

That some such change was needed, in the direction of greater uniformity in the church in England, must have been generally admitted. In different dioceses there were no inconsiderable variations; and during the tenth century these increased greatly; each bishop directing such observances as he judged best to be used in his own diocese. Of course in the eucharistic office, or "Canon of the Mass," the *essentials* of the service were uniformly observed; yet even here there were variations of more or less importance.

There are many reasons why the accession of Osmund to the see of Sarum was a golden opportunity for effecting a greater uniformity in ritual observances. The whole land was now fully subordinated under one head, and so facilities for intercourse were naturally increased. It was at Old Sarum, in the year 1086, that the king met his "witan," and where all the landowners, that were of any account over all England, submitted themselves to him and swore to him oaths of fealty, that they would be faithful to him against all other men. (Chron. Sax. A°. 1086.) It was not unfitting, that from Old Sarum should proceed that ritual "use" which should do something at all events towards welding together as one the various dioceses throughout England. Moreover the high position and acknowledged influence of Osmund—the valuable help he obtained in his work from the band of canons whom he associated with himself, who are said to have been famed not only for their skill in music but for their learning generally—Malmesbury speaks of the "canonicorum claritas cantibus et literaturâ juxta nobilium"—all tended to make that work a successful one, and to gain a ready acceptance for, what has been usually termed, the "Use of Sarum," in other dioceses besides his own.

It must, however, be distinctly understood that Osmund's work was not an *original* one; the arrangements in part may be so described, but, as a whole, the work was a *compilation* from ancient

sources. The good bishop invented or introduced little himself; what he did was this—to make selections out of the practices which he saw in use around him, and so to arrange the sundry offices that his clergy, who were both Norman and English, might have one uniform rule to guide them whilst discharging their various functions. Moreover the "Use of Sarum" was drawn up, and promulgated, for his own diocese only; he, at least, had no authority to do more than this. Still, though there were other "Uses," such as those of York, Hereford, Bangor, and Lincoln, the acceptance of the "Use of Sarum," not only in the south of England, but in other parts of the kingdom, is unquestionable. We have express testimony to this fact by John Brompton, a Cistercian and Abbot of Jervaulx, in Yorkshire, who, writing within one hundred years of Osmund's decease, says—"Osmundus composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii, quem 'Consuetudinarium' vocant, quo feré nunc totâ Angliâ, Walliâ, utitur, et Hiberniâ."

These words of John Brompton, which refer to some earlier copy of Osmund's work than now exists, have led to some confusion. He speaks of a "liber ordinalis" (=ordinal) which he says in his time —he flourished *c.* 1198—was termed "consuetudinarium" (=consuetudinary). It is true that these two terms are used sometimes in a sense more extended than their original meaning, and that, so to speak, they overlap each other—at all events a "consuetudinary" is so employed as to include an "ordinal." Nevertheless they are distinct works—in fact, in the copy of the "consuetudinary" which remains to us, we have allusions more than once to the "ordinal" as a perfectly separate production. The "ordinal" was the book which regulated the whole duty of the canonical hours, or, to use Lyndwood's words,—"Liber in quo ordinatur modus dicendi et solemnizandi divinum officium." The priest might learn from it what festivals he was to observe, and the proper office appointed throughout the year, at least so far as any changes were concerned, from the common service of the day; what lessons were to be read at any given service; what responses—they were formerly called "histories"—were sung; what commemorations were to be made during the week. In truth it indicated much the same thing, and

was only another name for, the Directory; and in the "Ordinale" published at Antwerp in 1488 there is a section expressly called "Directorium Sacerdotum" (Rock, i., 9). The "Consuetudinary" dealt, as its name implies, with the special *customs* of the church, both as regards the members of the cathedral body who were severally responsible for their performance, and the precise character of the observances themselves. In the "ordinal" we have precise directions as to the service itself—in the "consuetudinary," instructions as to the outward ceremonies and ritual with which it was to be accompanied. The latter consequently dealt with the duties and privileges of the several members of the cathedral body, defining accurately the relations in which they stood to each other, and explaining the part they were to take in celebrating mass, or in the daily reading in the chapter-house, or in the ceremonial observances appropriate to certain seasons, or in processions (no unimportant portion of the worship of the eleventh and following centuries), or in offices for the dead. The precise character of the Consuetudinary will be more evident when I come presently to speak of the headings of its various sections. Meanwhile I may say, that the *broad* distinction that may be drawn between these two formularies may be perhaps thus summed up, *viz.*, that in the "ordinal" the officiating minister learnt what service was to be carried out—in the "consuetudinary," how, by whom, and with what special outward forms it was to be accompanied.

Osmund compiled both an "ordinal" and a "consuetudinary." It is of the latter—the most ancient as well as most perfect copy of which is still preserved among the muniments of the Bishop of Sarum—that I wish to speak. As to the precise date of this copy I shall treat presently; meanwhile I may say that this manuscript, unique and precious as it is, must have been copied or compiled from an older, and perhaps an original, one. There is internal evidence, as will soon be proved, that the manuscript we possess cannot be of earlier date than the thirteenth century, whereas among the records of Lichfield Cathedral we find no small portion of this same treatise, which was made by Bishop Hugh de Nonant (who would seem probably to have been at one time a canon of Sarum from his

arbitration in a dispute concerning the prebend of Hustborne), during his episcopate from 1188—98, the ground-work of certain statutes for the government of the chapter of Lichfield, and the regulation of its services and ritual. In fact Bishop Hugh de Nonant borrowed unstintedly from "the book of Osmund"—from a copy which has probably long since perished—not only adopting his ordinances, but keeping so closely to the letter of them as to make it clear that he did little more than copy *verbatim* such passages as he thought fit to embody in his own statutes for Lichfield.

Of the ready acceptance of the "consuetudinary" in other dioceses besides Sarum and Lichfield we have ample evidence. The "use of Sarum" was introduced into Ireland by authority of the synod of Cashel in the year 1173; and into Scotland some seventy years later. Amongst the acts of Gervase, Bishop of St. David's, and his chapter in 1223, was one establishing the precentorship there, and ordaining, that, at all events as regards two important "offices," they should be carried out according to the "Use of Sarum."

The manuscript in which is contained the oldest known copy of the consuetudinary—and this, as we shall presently see, is not quite complete—forms the first nineteen folios of a quarto vellum codex still preserved in the bishop's registry. The rest of the volume is filled with documents of a miscellaneous character, arranged without any especial regard to chronological order, many of them relating to the establishment of prebends in the cathedral; and some portion of it being more like a chapter register, containing—though even here the account is given in fragments suggesting the thought that the leaves are wrongly stitched up—a full narrative of the removal of the see from Old to New Sarum, and the efforts made for building the new cathedral. This latter part is evidently from the dictation, if not from the pen of William de Wenda, who was Dean from 1220-37. We have also in this same volume an account of the visitation of the prebendal churches and estates by Dean William de Wenda, as well as an inventory of the "ornamenta" of the cathedral at the commencement of the *thirteenth* century.

The volume itself is labelled outside "Vetus Registrum;" and, as a heading to the "Consuetudinary," we have "Tractatus de

officiis ecclesiasticis." Its opening sentence at once proves it to be no *original* work; for it says, that its purport is to explain all the customs and usages, as well as the offices of the "persons," appointed for the carrying out the work of the cathedral—as Bishop Osmund, of blessed memory, founder of the same, instituted and ordained—"Personas et eorum officia, dignitates, et consuetudines, quibus ecclesia Sarisbiriensis ordinatur et regitur, juxta institutionem felicis memoriæ Osmundi ejusdem fundatoris et episcopi, presens tractatus explanat." There are, moreover, internal evidences which, apart from the character of the writing itself, enable us to tell the approximate date of the manuscript. Thus in § 21, we have among double feasts, Christmas Day and the *four* following days—namely the feasts of S. Stephen, S. John the Evangelist, the Holy Innocents, and S. Thomas of Canterbury—and S. Thomas a Becket was not canonized till the year 1173, some seventy years after Osmund's decease. And in § 56, the day of S. Thomas the Martyr is expressly named among "Lesser double festivals." Moreover we have, in § 44, mention of the festival of S. Michael in Monte Tumba" which was not appointed as a lesser holiday till the council of Oxford in 1222. So that, in its present state, the consuetudinary cannot possibly be of an earlier date than *c.* 1225.

But another fact comes to our aid in fixing the date of the manuscript in question. A copy of this same MS. was furnished for the use of S. Patrick's, Dublin, and this same copy (which may be called almost a *verbatim* copy), and which is pronounced to be of the writing of the thirteenth century, has, after many vicissitudes, found its way into the library of the University of Cambridge. Now the church of S. Patrick's, Dublin, was new modelled, "ad exemplar insignis ecclesiæ Sarum," and erected into a cathedral church by Henry de Loundres, who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1213—28, and who was present at the first consecration of such portion of our present cathedral as was then built, by Bishop Richard Poore, in 1225.

The conclusion, therefore, to which we come is this, that whereas the original MS., which has perished or been lost, was drawn up for use in the cathedral at Old Sarum, the present MS., which we still

possess, was copied from it and possibly in some slight degree enlarged, and in any case adapted for use in the new cathedral, which was at the very time being gradually built. It probably was the work of William de Wenda, the active Dean, and he was no doubt assisted by Edmund Rich (afterwards S. Edmund of Canterbury), who held the dignity of Treasurer. No one can read § 5, which explains the office and duties of the Treasurer, and details the heavy charges on that dignitary for lights and other accessories of divine worship, and recollects that it was at this time that the prebend of Calne was permanently annexed to the treasurership, for the very purpose that those who held the dignity might be able to continue to supply in the same liberal manner, as was "instituted" by Edmund Rich, such lights and other "ornaments," without coming to the conclusion that that great man helped forward a work, the object of which was the more seemly and reverent worship of Almighty God.

It is strange, that though portions of the Old Register—notably the account of the building of the new cathedral—had been printed by Wilkins, Spelman, and others, no public attention had been called to the consuetudinary till about seventy years ago, when Mr. Hatcher, one of the compilers of the History of Salisbury, brought it under the notice of Bishop Fisher. It was afterwards, together with the rest of the old register, carefully transcribed at the cost of Bishop Burgess, and that transcript is now in the muniment room of the cathedral. The "Consuetudinary" has been printed by Dr. Rock in the third volume of his "Church of our Fathers," but that is an expensive and scarce book. Anyhow probably few persons, without a translation, and sundry annotations, would be able fully to understand it. There were hopes a little while ago, that one well equal to the task—namely the Recorder of Salisbury, Mr. J. D. Chambers—would have published an edition of it: for most certainly a MS. which may be regarded as a directory for the ritual of most of the churches in England up to the Reformation must needs have an interest beyond that which is merely archæological.

It has been already intimated that the treatise is not quite complete.

Although in the "Tabulæ" (or Tables), in which those who were responsible for the various services, as well as the way in which they were to be carried out, are recorded, there is a note about the "*three nights before Easter*," in subsequent sections, where the functions to be performed at that especial period are described, there is a *blank* from Maunday Thursday till Easter Eve. The treatise is so comprehensive as to lead us to the conclusion, that it at all events contains, with this exception, all that was drawn up by Osmund himself.

As regards the contents of the "Consuetudinary," little more can be given than a brief summary. The headings of its various sections are to be found in Hatcher's Salisbury, p. 715, though without the study of other documents explaining the ritual practices and other customs of the church of Sarum, not very much can be learnt intelligibly from them. The consuetudinary is very carefully and systematically drawn up, and may, as regards its contents, be divided into four or five fairly distinct portions, though under each there are sections on subjects more or less independent, such as the daily reading in the chapter house—the incensing of the altar—the blessing the font—and the rules as to double and simple feasts. A few matters shall be named under the various heads to which reference has been made.

I.—The first *eleven* sections have reference to the various members of the cathedral body, beginning with the "Quatuor Personæ," *i.e.*, the Dean, the Precentor, the Chancellor, and Treasurer; and then of the various canons, and the chief "officials," namely, of the four Archdeacons as officials of the bishop, and the Sub-Dean, Sub-Chanter as "officials" of the cathedral, all of whom had "seats in choir," though not necessarily a "voice in chapter." The rights and privileges, together with the duties devolving on each of these "Personæ," as well as on the several canons, are there explained, the residence required of them distinctly set forth, and the punishments of those who transgressed the rules laid down.

It is impossible to read the sections relating to the dignity and duties of the Dean, without seeing in them the real cause of the divorce

that has taken place between the Bishop and the Mother Church; which nevertheless derives its very name from the "*cathedra*" of the Bishop being in it. It is true, that, throughout the "Consuetudinary," the leading part in all the services is assigned to the Bishop—even when the Dean is directed to perform certain functions, it is almost invariably added "unless the Bishop be present"—nevertheless, as is expressed in the statutes of 1319—where the Dean is called the "immediate ordinary"—his authority in the cathedral, and over its members, "in regimine animarum et morum correctione," was supreme. All causes relating to the chapter were to be heard by him and to be determined by him, with the advice of assessors from the capitular body; the various "canons," though they received "institution" from the Bishop, obtained "possession" from the Dean; he assigning them their "place in choir" and their "voice in chapter." The vicars, moreover, were especially under his jurisdiction; he admitting them on the nomination of the several canons whose vicars they might be, or, failing such nomination, appointing them himself. This independent authority of the Dean was reflected on his canons, for each of them held similar authority in their several prebends, many of them enjoying "archidiaconal" jurisdiction in them. Moreover there is a most important privilege secured to them in the Consuetudinary, which is thus expressed:—"Quod canonici in nullo episcopo respondeant nisi in capitulo, et judicio capituli tantum pareant." Putting all these things together, even though in formularies and other documents a clear line seems to be drawn, defining their several powers and privileges, one can easily see how, without taking into account the almost natural encroachments of successive centuries, the authority of the bishop over his cathedral came to be regarded as less and less, till, as Bishop Denison remarked, though he had "extraordinary jurisdiction as visitor he really seemed to have no ordinary jurisdiction as bishop."

Of course our concern is not to argue the matter, but simply to give the reasons for such a state of things having come to pass. One fact, that of the bishop being a canon of the cathedral—more than one of them speaks of himself as "con-canonicus"—is everywhere apparent. He was always possessed of a distinct "prebend"—

for some centuries now it has been that of "Potterne," and previously either that of "Major Pars Altaris" or "Horton,"—in virtue of which he had a special stall assigned to him, in which he sat in his choir-habit when not actually taking part in any "office," and which gave him the right of being present—a right I conceive existing to this day—at all meetings of chapter. Special psalms, moreover, were assigned to the bishop as Prebendary of Potterne, as to all the other canons, which he was to recite daily, thus completely identifying him with the cathedral. Indeed there is one instance, in a formal document, in which this fact comes out in a striking way. For when, in the year 1392, during the episcopate of John Waltham, a composition was entered into as to his right and mode of visiting the cathedral body—a claim which had long been resisted—it is there directed that the bishop should each day enter the chapter "*ut canonicus,*" and then if any matter were brought before him needing correction he should "*ut episcopus*" enjoin that it should be corrected. There is, I confess, to my own mind something very pleasing in the thought of the bishop, even when acting as a judge, not losing the character of a canon—an elder brother assisted by brethren deciding concerning some offending brethren. The same thought underlies the very name of the bishop's court—called the "Consistory Court," because his brother-priests *sat there with him,* "consilium episcopi contra hæreses et schismata," and advised with him in judging concerning any matters that might be brought before him. No doubt the fact that the office of a bishop has, since the Reformation, come to be regarded as a distinct order—before that there was but *one order,* whether for bishop or priest, though the former had his own special functions and precedence, and the office of bishop was never one of the *seven* orders—has tended to obscure the *constitutional* rule, and to bring out into prominence the "μοναρχία" of the episcopate. How far this change has been for the peace of the church is not within the limits of enquiry for this paper, the simple object being to explain the state of things in olden days. When, however, the non-resident canons of Sarum as a body laid their recommendations before the present Cathedral Commissioners, in reply to an invitation to do so, they expressed their opinion that if the canons, either as

a body, or a certain number of them, could, as in ancient times, be again recognised as the bishop's special advisers, and a "Court Spiritual" revived under proper regulations and restrictions for at all events the *first* hearing of complaints against clergy, much unhappy litigation might possibly be saved. They may perhaps have been wrong in the opinion they expressed—they had, nevertheless, abundant precedents for the course they suggested.

II.—The twelfth section of the Consuetudinary is headed "*De chori ordinatione,*" and this and some twelve subsequent sections refer to matters more or less bearing upon the ordering of the choir, and of the "clerici" whose duties called them thither from time to time; such as, for instance, their mode of entering and leaving it, or in passing from one part of it to the other; rules as to the time by which they must enter it, and of standing or kneeling at various portions of the services; of turning to the altar at certain times, of the habit to be worn by the clerics, of the office of the "Rectores Chori," or Rulers of the Choir, (one of the reforms introduced by Osmund); and, as bearing on the last-named office, two sections, one defining what its duties were, and the other explaining which were "double" and which "simple" festivals. A remark or two only can be made on a few of these matters.

The canons and others ministering in the cathedral, when in choir, sat in one of three rows of seats,[1]—the word used is "*formæ,*"—arranged on either side. On the first or lowest seat were the "pueri," or choristers, who were divided into "pueri *canonici,*" or those on the foundation or roll of the cathedral, and "pueri *non-canonici,*" or what we should call *probationers,* among the latter probably being some who served as acolytes. On the second or middle row, sat the junior canons, the junior vicars, and other clerics ministering in the choir,—that is, the sub-deacons and clerks in minor orders (minorum ordinum clerici). On the first, or upper row, sat the chief dignitaries,

[1] The seats on which the Canons and Vicars sat do not seem to have been at the first arranged in what we call stalls, for in § xv. we have a direction to the "clerics" to order themselves with care, each in his proper place, so that they need not "jump over" the forms;—"Intrantes clerici in locis suis ita se ordinate recipiant ne formas inordinate *transiliant.*

the senior canons the archdeacons, the sub-dean, the sub-chanter, the priest-vicars, and by special privilege a few of the deacon-vicars. The "terminal" stalls were occupied by the Dean and Chancellor on the south side; by the Precentor and Treasurer on the north side. Each canon had his place either on the "Decani" or "Cantoris" side, as they came to be called from the Dean and Precentor who respectively occupied the terminal stalls. Indeed in course of time the fifty-two canons came to be ranged in four divisions (each of thirteen) called respectively the "quarterium" or *quarter* of the Dean, the Precentor, the Chancellor, the Treasurer. There is nothing here to lead us to think that in earliest days there were any "return-stalls" at the western end of the choir. There was probably a low screen between the choir and nave,[1] as we read of the "choir-gates," over which, or possibly on one side of which, was a cross, in front of which the Treasurer was bound to provide a large light. On either side of the screen were "pulpits"—at all events there was *one*, which is called "pulpitum in *aquila*" (from the lectern, or *eagle*, which at an early date served instead of the pulpit)—from which were read the epistles and gospels.[2] The Treasurer was bound to provide five lights "*super murum post pulpitum lectionum*," an arrangement hardly consistent with return-stalls. It is true there is another pulpit named, from which the gospel was to be read (§ xcv.) on the second day in Advent, which was placed in the south side of the presbytery for the occasion—a moveable one in fact—for the words of the Consuetudinary are "Evangelium in presbyterio, super *pulpito ad*

[1] On this point we have an important testimony in a work of Durandus which is especially valuable, as he died in 1296 and so witnesses to contemporary custom. He tells us that in primitive churches the screen enclosing the choir was only *elbow-height*—usque ad *appodiationem*—and that such custom was more or less observed in his own time. The whole passage is as follows:—"In primitivâ ecclesiâ peribolus, id est, paries, qui circuit chorum non elevabatur nisi usque *ad appodiationem*, quod adhuc in quibusdam ecclesiis observatur, quod ideo fiebat, ut populus videns clerum psallentem inde bonum sumeret exemplum," &c. "*Rationale divinorum officiorum* 1518" (fol. xl.)

[2] The reader stood at the lectern which was placed just within the western entrance to the choir, the clerics being directed to turn towards him. Thus in § xvii. we read, "Chorus ad altare se inclinet *antequam* ad lectorem evangelii se convertat."

hoc parato, legitur, versus aquilonem converso diacono, quod unus ceropherarium post lectam epistolam in loco debito disponat et ornet," but this cannot be the one alluded to.[1] I may mention in passing, that it is generally supposed that the union of the two pulpits formed the rood-loft of the fourteenth and later centuries, and accounts for the custom that then prevailed of reading the epistle and gospel from that part of the church.

It does not appear that in entering the choir for any of the services the clerics went in anything like a procession. One section of the Consuetudinary is headed " Quando ad singulas horas chorum intrare licet;" and this defines accurately the period within which, in order to be reckoned as present, they must appear in choir. They entered moreover not only at different times, but at different parts of the cathedral; those who entered from the eastern portion, when they reached the "*gradus altaris,*" were to make an "inclination" first to the altar and then to the Bishop, if he were present; those entering from the west, were in like manner first to "incline" to the altar and then to the Dean. In passing from one side of the choir to the other, both in going and returning, the like "inclination" to the altar was to be made. Minute directions are given also as to turning to the altar at certain portions of the services, such as at each "Gloria Patri," at the commencement of the "Te Deum laudamus," at the "Creeds," &c.; as also concerning standing and kneeling in choir, and the "habit" to be worn by the various clerics. But on these matters we cannot dwell; and all that can be added are a few words about the "Rulers of the Choir" (Rectores Chori), and their duties and office, because they were amongst the changes introduced by S. Osmund into the ritual observances of his church, having no doubt been derived by him from the church of Rouen.

The "Rulers of the Choir" were really the deputies of the Precentor for leading the choir-service. For all Sundays and feasts of the second class he selected *two* canons of the lower or second

[1] The French word "*pûpitre,*" which means a small moveable stand, such as is used for music, best explains the primitive meaning of "pulpitum." The "Pulpitum in aquilâ" was larger, more like what we now call a "lectern," and stood near the western entrance of the choir.

form; for all the higher festivals *four* canons, two from the higher and two from the lower form. To say that the choir was "ruled" on any day meant that it was a festival of one or the other class.

Arrayed in silken copes and furred almuces, and each bearing a staff of beautiful workmanship, these Rulers of the Choir sat on stools ranged from north to south. It was for the first Ruler to ask at the beginning of evensong from the Precentor in what tones the psalms were to be chanted, and by whom among the upper Canons the antiphons were to be entoned.

It is hardly worth troubling our readers with all the details of their duties, which are very explicitly laid down in the Consuetudinary. Suffice it to say, that they had the general control of the singing; and, amongst other duties, had to look after and watch over the boys, and to see that they did not misbehave or go out of the choir without leave.

III.—In § xxv. we commence a series of minute directions for the mode of "executing the office" (*de modo exequendi officium*) on various days; commencing with Advent Sunday, and going through the course of the ecclesiastical year. Interspersed with these, are instructions for incensing the altar and the choir; for blessing the holy water with which all the altars and the various worshippers were aspersed; and for the daily reading and other ceremonies in the chapter-house after prime-song. In this portion also we have a minute description of the "Tabulæ," or "Tables," in which those who were responsible for the various services, as well as the way in which they were to be carried out, were entered from week to week. This portion of the Consuetudinary occupies no less than forty-four sections, *i.e.*, from § 25 to § 69.

Two matters, each of some little interest, it may be remarked in passing, are brought before us, or illustrated, in this portion of the Consuetudinary.

The first of them is contained in § 30, which is entitled "De ordinatione clericorum in capitulo" and a brief reference to this will be found in a previous page,[1] but some further details may not be

[1] See above, p. 275.

unfittingly introduced here, relating to the daily reading in the chapter-house. This took place each morning after prime-song; that is, soon after *six* o'clock. Walking in procession to the chapter-house, all the members of the cathedral body present seated themselves according to their rank; the Bishop occupying the central seat, having on his right-hand the Dean, the Chancellor, the Archdeacons of Dorset and of Wilts (=Sarum) the Sub-Dean; on his left-hand the Precentor, the Treasurer, the Archdeacon of Berks and the *other* Archdeacon of Wilts, and the Succentor. Then followed in due order the Canons and Vicars, whether priests, deacons, or sub-deacons, and after them the "clerics" of the minor orders. The "pueri," or boys, including in them not only the choir, but others serving in some of the inferior offices, all *stood* on the floor, ranged on either side of the "pulpit," or, strictly speaking, lectern. One boy, habited in a surplice (*superpelliceo*), whose duty it was for the week (and who was hence called "*ebdomadarius*"), read from the lectern the "martyrologie" and afterwards gave out the "obits." After the boy had gone through the list, the officiating priest, standing behind the reader, said "Animæ eorum, et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum, per Dei misericordiam, requiescant in pace." And then he added, "Preciosa in conspectu Domini, &c."

Then came a lection out of some pious writer. These lections (*collationes*) were arranged previously by the Chancellor. According to Clement Maidstone (*Credi Michi, fol.* 56), the writings of Haimo, one of Alcuin's scholars, used to be read wherever the Sarum rite prevailed. After the lection, if any member of the cathedral body had been negligent of duty he now asked forgiveness of the Dean and his brethren. Then, if it were a Sunday or a holy-day, the boy who had read the lection read also the "Tabula," which was made out always by the Precentor, naming (1.)—from among the canons—the Rulers of the Choir, the readers of the lessons, the chanters of the responses at mattins, the celebrant at high mass; and (2)—from among the "pueri"—who was to read the chapter, to carry the candles, to bear the holy water, or to be "thurifer," or "acolyte," *i.e.*, to bring in the chalice with the corporal cloths during the week, or during the octave of the festival.

Reference is made to these matters, not merely to show how carefully all arrangements were made for the various services and offices, but also to explain how, in these early days, all members of the cathedral body, from the bishop downwards to the youngest of the "pueri" or choristers, regarded themselves as part of one religious household, not only attending the services in the cathedral itself, but also meeting daily in the chapter-house for private devotion and edification; although, as members of a secular foundation, they were bound by no vows, and lived each in their separate dwellings.

There is one other matter on which light is thrown by the portion of the Consuetudinary which we are now considering, on which it may be well to say a few words—namely, the *original* position of the high altar.

From the subjects of the roof-paintings in the choir—all of which, from the entrance to the choir eastward as far as the arch in a line with the aisle of the lesser transept are *sacred*, and culminate just above that arch in a majestic figure of Our Lord in glory, whereas, eastward of that spot the roof-painting was not only of *secular* subjects, but inferior in point of execution—it has been conjectured that the high altar *originally* stood under the "Majesty," or at all events under the arch immediately to the east of it.

The matter is, of course, one in which *positive proof* can hardly be adduced, and all that can be claimed for any theory on the subject is "very high presumption." But as Mr. Gilbert Scott has, by the re-issue, in the "Sacristy," of the "tractate" by his father and himself, first printed some four or five years ago, almost challenged discussion on it, and a paper on the subject has already appeared in this *Magazine*,[1] it may not be amiss to give a short extract or two from the Consuetudinary, from which some *general* conclusions at all events may be arrived at, which more or less clear the way for a full consideration of the matter.

In § 25, among services, &c., for Advent Sunday, are directions for incensing the altar, and the priest is directed to incense it first

[1] A paper on the "Original Position of the High Altar in Salisbury Cathedral" will be found in vol. xvii., pp. 136—147 of this *Magazine*.

"*in medio*," then "*in dextra parte*," then "*in sinistrâ*"—and then follow these words "Deinde thurificando altare *circueat*"; *i.e.*, "he shall go *right round* the altar."

Again, in § 67, which is "De modo benedicendi aquam," &c., *i.e.*, on the mode of blessing the water for the purposes of aspersion, we are told that the priest (*sacerdos ebdomadarius*), attended by a deacon, and sub-deacon bearing a text (=copy of the gospels), and a thurifer, and taper-bearers, and an acolyte bearing a cross, all of them dressed in albs, and turned towards the altar in the middle of the presbytery, (*altare in medio presbyterii*), shall, being himself vested in a silken cope, bless the holy water at the choir-step.

Then, in § 68, the Priest is directed to go to the high altar and sprinkle it on *every side* (et ipsum *circumquáque* aspergat).

From these extracts, we must, it is conceived, draw these two inferences—(i.) that *originally*—the high altar stood in a detached position, at some distance from any wall, otherwise how could the Priest "cense" and "sprinkle" it on the eastern side, since in the former case some space must surely have been left for the swinging of the censer, and in the latter he was certainly accompanied by the boy carrying the water; and (ii.) that it occupied *a central position*, for when the Consuetudinary describes it as standing "in *medio presbyterii*" it can hardly mean that it was then placed at the east end of it.

IV.—At § 69, and thenceforward to § 92, we have a number of minute directions as to the "Processions," both *inside* the cathedral —a custom, in the form in which it is ordained in the Consuetudinary, peculiar to the Sarum Use[1]—and also *outside* the cathedral; and amongst them of those on the Rogation Days, or, as they were called, the Gang-days. No one can read the Consuetudinary without at once perceiving how important a part these solemn

[1] Solemn processions were used on important occasions, and especially in times of trouble and difficulty; solemn litanies being then recited as a means of averting threatened judgment and supplicating help from Almighty God. Thus, in the Dunham Reg., fol. 104, under date of A.D. 1388, we have this entry, "Episcopus [John Waltham] mandat processionem pro *pace regis et regni*." Many other instances of a similar character might be mentioned.

processions formed in the ceremonial observances at Sarum.[1] No less than twenty-three sections (§ 69—92) are on this subject, minute directions being given for the special variations, or additions, to be made on certain days or occasions. A brief account of one of the simplest of these processions, that on the first Sunday in Advent, may be given in illustration. First walked the sacristæ (or virgers); then the boy carrying the holy water, then the cross-bearer. Next followed two acolytes abreast, then the thurifer, then the sub-deacon, the deacon, the priest, who were tabled for the week; then the junior canons, and after them the senior canons two and two; then the chief dignitaries, duly vested each one according to the instructions, then the Bishop, in a silken cope with his mitre and pastoral staff. The procession went out by the *north* door of the presbytery, and proceeded right round the presbytery, the priest, as they walked on, sprinkling the several altars; then it advanced down the *south* aisle as far as the font, and then, passing into the nave, walked as far as the entrance to the choir, where a "station" was made, the boy bearing the holy water and the acolyte standing at the step before the cross (*ad gradum ante crucem*), when the priest, standing himself in the midst, having said the accustomed prayers, they entered the choir. After that, the priest having, at the choir-step, said the versicle and prayer appointed, he with his attendants went through the south door into the cemetery of the canons, for the purpose of aspersing it, and offering prayers for the departed.

The procession, it will have been noticed, on the occasion described, left the choir by the *north* presbytery door and turned *to the right*—to the region of warmth, and light, and brightness—so that in returning it might follow the sun's seeming path in the heavens. On occasions of woe and sadness the usage was to turn *to the left*, the side of gloom and darkness, to go, not along with, but against, the sun. Thus of the monks of Winchester, in the Winton Annals, it is said, that on one occasion of sadness, "processionem nudis

[1] This seems to be implied by the privilege given in § xv. of joining any procession throughout the year, though, as regards other services and offices, the limitations are very distinct. Thus we read "Quilibet autem processionem totius anni intrare possunt."

pedibus *contra solis cursum* . . . fecerunt." It may be added, that walking *within* the church in procession, singing the litanies each Wednesday and Friday during Lent, was peculiar to the Sarum Use.

On high festivals, such, for example, as Ascension Day, not only were the number of attendants increased—there were, for instance, three acolytes, each bearing a cross, and two thurifers, with a number of banners, and in particular two, one of which was called "LEO" and the other "DRACO," symbolizing, it is said, how the "Lion of the tribe of Judah" had, by his uprising to heaven, won his last fight with the devil "the great dragon"—but certain relics in a shrine, which were carried by canons clad in silken copes. On this occasion, the procession advanced from the choir down the nave, and so through the great western door; and then, turning to the right, went round the church and cemetery, re-entering at the western door. They then proceeded up the nave, and halting at the choir-entrance, as before, for the accustomed prayers and ceremonies, went back to their accustomed places in the choir.

On Rogation Days the processions took a still wider range. On one of these days, with their banners of the "LION" and the "DRAGON," going out by the south door of the church and then through the western gate of the city, and so round the city on its north side, they would enter one of the churches, and, after celebrating mass there, would return to the cathedral through the eastern city gate. On another they would go first through the east gate to some church, where having in like manner celebrated mass, they would then return through the western city gate, after perambulating the city on its south side.

But on this and many other matters connected with this portion of the Consuetudinary, such as the procession, and its attendant ceremonies, on Maundy Thursday, that on Easter Eve for the hallowing of the paschal fire, or the blessing of the fonts, or that on Low Sunday (*Dominica in Albis*), when they who had been recently baptised laid aside their white robes or chrysms, or the processions "*venerationis causâ*," or for rendering the last offices to a deceased member of the cathedral body, we have hardly space to enter.

Certainly in many cases there was a symbolism in the outward ceremonies that was not only very impressive but very instructive also. Of course it was an age in which much of the general teaching was by outward ritual; but it did realise in any case the true nature of worship, which is primarily, of course, the giving glory to God, rather than—as is now too commonly thought—the obtaining blessings for ourselves; the truth being, that in proportion as we render of our own to God, we may look for grace from Him—that here at least it is true "There is that giveth and yet increaseth." Of course all this elaborate ceremonial had its attendant evils; for, notwithstanding its apparent devotion, its tendency was to become mechanical, and so perhaps at times only to awaken a desire for knowledge which in itself it could never satisfy.

V.—Of the twelve remaining sections of the Consuetudinary, §§ 93—105, *eight* contain minute directions as to attendant ceremonies at the celebration of mass on different days and various times, whilst the other *five* relate to such matters as the covering of the images, and the veil which shut off the sanctuary, during Lent, the special services on Maundy Thursday—such as the hallowing of the oils, &c.,—the office of "Tenebræ" in Holy Week, the "Vigiliæ mortuorum" or office for the dead. But of these we can make only a passing mention, by way of completing our brief summary of the "Consuetudinary."

Such then, as we have endeavoured to describe it, is this remarkable "tractate," which bears the name of S. Osmund. Drawn up originally for his cathedral at Old Sarum, it was, of course, re-edited, and possibly slightly modified, in the days of his worthy successor, Richard Poore. To be understood it must, of course, be read together with the Ordinal; and no doubt some of the directions were to be interpreted by the customs, well-understood, and fully ackowledged, of the church itself. But such as we have it—contained in nineteen folios, written in contracted Latin, and possibly by the hand of Richard Poore, or William de Wenda, it became in fact the statute-book of ecclesiastical ceremonial for the church, in by far the greater portion of England; and it continued such up to the time of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

There is indeed one characteristic of the Consuetudinary, which, though perhaps subordinate to its main purpose, can hardly fail to strike anyone who attentively studies it—the way, that is, in which it assigns to each member of the cathedral body, not only his own distinct office, but also his own personal share in the work and services of the cathedral. It regards all of them—from the bishop down to the youngest acolyte—as forming one compact religious household; and the individualism of the separate members is merged in the corporate life and work of the whole. In this respect, the cathedral system has, now for some centuries, exhibited a complete contrast to the ancient order and rule. Our staff is miserably shrunken; all save *four*, out of more than *fifty* canons, are virtually ostracised, practically without any share in the services, and though given solemnly at their installation a "place in chapter," never allowed, or at all events invited, to occupy it. Our worship is, for the most part *vicarious*—the canon is per-force represented by the vicar-choral—and he in turn by the lay vicar—that invention of post-reformation times—who at one time was even charged with saying the litany. And each of these claiming separate rights and interests, and each being "a law to himself," there has sprung up an "imperium in imperio"; the whole cathedral body has become a set of disintegrated atoms, rather than, as in mediæval times, a well-adjusted and harmonious whole. We ought, it may well be said, gladly to welcome any measures, which would substitute for that individual liberty, almost license, claimed and exercised by *the few*, such corporate action and freedom as would recognize the rights of *all*, and so bring the cathedral nearer to the grand ideal that was before the mind of our first founder—St. Osmund.

On the Succession of the Abbesses of Wilton, with some notice of Wilton Seals.[1]

By J. E. Nightingale, F.S.A.

THE earliest monastic foundation of Wilton, as distinct from its occupation by the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, seems to have been in something like the following order:—Seculars, *c.* A.D. 773; a Benedictine nunnery under a prioress, 800; and the enlarged establishment presided over by an abbess, in 871. The monastery thus constituted continued until the time of its dissolution in 1539.

The object of this paper is to give a further addition to the already not inconsiderable list of abbesses recorded in Hoare's *Modern Wilts*, as well as other particulars relating to some of them, their seals, &c. The usual sources of information concerning the heads of religious houses, hitherto available, have been Dugdale's Monasticon, with Brown Willis's additions to Tanner's Notitia Monastica made in 1774, but we may look for more original matter, as well as some probable corrections, when it is found possible to make more easily available the rich treasures of MSS. and charters which are understood to be still accumulating in the British Museum.

A great deal of curious information connected with the Abbey of Wilton is to be found in the *Chronicon Vilodunense*, a MS. preserved in the Cottonian Library, and now generally accessible from a printed copy made by Sir R. C. Hoare in 1830. It may be termed the Legendary history of Wilton Abbey in metre, and was no doubt written for the instruction of the recluses; as a genuine specimen of the ancient Wiltshire dialect it is exceedingly valuable. From internal evidence it is clear that it was composed about the year 1420, by some one dwelling in Wilton and connected with the monastery. The chief source of the compilation is expressly said

[1] The Committee desires to record its grateful thanks to Mr. Nightingale for his generous presentation of the beautiful plate of seals which illustrates this paper, as for the previous plate of a medal in illustration of his paper on the First Earl of Pembroke, *Magazine*, vol. xviii., p. 81. [Ed.]

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to have been an ancient legend, written some three hundred and forty years before, that is, about A.D. 1080, in the reign of the Conqueror. It is, no doubt, encumbered with a vast deal of legendary matter, relating to the alleged miracles of St. Edith, but there is no reason to suppose that the historical notices of the Abbey are otherwise than correct. The metre of the poem is most irregular; in the printed copy each stanza is numbered consecutively. Leland made considerable use of this MS. in his Collectanea, which matter was afterwards copied in Dugdale's Monasticon. Leland's abstract of the chief historical particulars of the poem, however, ends at the two hundred and fifty-seventh stanza.[1]

The first Abbess of Wilton was RADEGUNDE, A.D. 871. She is mentioned in the Chronicon as having founded the establishment with twelve other "maydones," to which was added the prioress and twelve nuns from the older foundation. The first community thus consisted of twenty-six persons. (See *stanzas* 155—157). ÆLFGYTH was Abbess at the time when King Edwy made the large grants of land at Chalk in 955, to "God Almighty, and St. Mary, and the venerable congregation in the Minster at Wilton."

WULFTHRYTH, WULFTRUDE, or WOLTRUD, was Abbess of Wilton soon after A.D. 968. She was placed in the monastery of Wilton to be educated, and was there seen by King Edgar; the story of her abduction is well known; the holy lives afterwards spent in the monastery of Wilton by herself and her daughter S. Edith, are found abundantly recorded in the Chronicon. S. Dunstan subjected his sovereign to a severe penance for violating the sanctity of the cloister. Edith lived at Wilton with her mother, the Abbess Wultrud, where she built a chapel in honour of S. Denis, at the consecration of which S. Dunstan foretold her early death and burial in the new church she had founded. Of this chapel—built by S. Edith—we get some particulars from the Chronicon. In *stanza* 443 it says that she built "a fulle fayre chapell of *lyme and stone*." How far the chronicler of 1420 in this instance followed his earlier authority it is impossible to say, but we know for certain that the church of the monastery, as it then existed, was built of wood, as it

[1] Preface to the Chronicon Vilodunense, by W. H. Black, p. x.

was re-built of stone by the Queen of Edward the Confessor about a century later. We also get from the same authority some particulars of the decoration of this chapel In the following *stanas* we are told "That a porch was made before this chapel by good advice, with three small entrance gates on which were set cross-wise three crosses of right good painting of the Passion and sepulchre of Our Lord, and the image of S. Denis, in gold and azure and many other colours"; that the walls were "right royally" painted, also with gold and azure and other colours. S. Wultrud died 20th September, A.D. 1000 (*stanza* 772).

After the death of S. Wultrud an interval occurs when two abbesses reigned of whom nothing is known. This we learn from the Chronicon (*stanza* 563), where it is stated that BRYGHTWYDE was third abbess after S. Wultrud. She is mentioned (in *stanza* 1075) as abbess when a certain miracle was performed in the twenty-third year of the reign of Edward the Confessor, the year before his death. This must also have been about the time of the death of the abbess Bryghtwyde, for we also learn on the same authority that she was succeeded by ALFYNE. (See *stanzas* 1152 and 1158.) This abbess Alfyne governed the abbey for two years and a half before the death of Edward the Confessor, and one year in the time of William the Conqueror, when "hurre soule past up to hevene blys." She was buried "in a ston" between Wultrud and Bryghthwyne before the altar of the Angel Gabriel (*stanzas* 1168—1180). The chronicler then goes on to say, these were days of great peace amongst the sisterhood, with all manner of prosperity, speed, and grace; that the house was open to rich and poor, with meat and drink for all comers. In the 1214th and subsequent *stanzas* we are told a curious story of a visit paid by a lady of the monastery to Herman, Bishop of Sarum, for the purpose of getting some wrong redressed. The name of this lady was TOLE, she is alluded to as being sister to the Abbess Alfyne.[1] The successor of

[1] Amongst the former possessions of the Church of Wilton mentioned in Domesday are "Two hides of land, which in the time of Edward the Confessor had been given to the monastery by one TORET with his two daughters, from which they were to be always clothed, &c., which hides were unjustly taken by

Alfyne, "a lady," had a vision of her coming preferment from S. Edith, but the chronicler does not mention her name (*stanza* 1182).

On the eve of the Conquest, we learn from Mr. Freeman's history of that event (vol. 2, p. 513, 1st ed.), who, after alluding to the building of Westminster Abbey by her husband, Edward, the consecration of which took place on December 28th, 1065, says, "The great ceremony had been preceded by a lesser one of the same kind. The Lady Eadgyth had re-built the church of the nuns at Wilton, the church of her sainted namesake, the daughter of Edgar. The fabric had hitherto been of wood, but the Lady now reared a stone minster, pressing on the work with unusual haste, in pious rivalry with her husband. The new building was hallowed by Herman, the bishop of the diocese."

In the account of Wilton Abbey given in *Modern Wilts*, which was written by the Rev. John Offer, and who died almost before its completion, it is stated that the Abbess of Wilton at the time of the Conquest was Christina, sister of Edgar Atheling, but Mr. Freeman has the following passage in his History of the Norman Conquest. Not long before the Conqueror's death "The Æthling Eadgar, discontented with the small honour he received at William's hands, left his court by leave, and went at the head of two hundred knights to join the Norman warriors in Apulia. His sister Christina about the same time took the veil in the Abbey of Romsey, of which before many years she became the abbess."

Six years after the Conquest we get a gleam of light thrown on the Abbey of Wilton and its inmates from the contents of a charter, a copy of which has lately been found amongst the Chapter muniments at Wells.[1] It is dated 28th February, 1072, and is simply a deed of sale of certain lands at Combe, in Somerset, to the Bishop of Wells; but the transaction took place at Wilton, before the royal

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Odo, Bishop of Baieux." Canon Jones, in his Domesday for Wiltshire, has pointed out that these two hides were situated at Ditchampton, adjoining Wilton, and were then held by the Bishop of Baieux, half-brother to the Conqueror.

The name of Toli is found in Domesday as one of the owners or tenants of lands at Tollard in the Hundred of Chalk. Canon Jones thinks it possible that the name of Tol-lard may have derived its origin from this tenant or owner.

[1] Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society, vol. 22.

Editha, who had received her education in this monastery. Here the widow of Edward the Confessor, the sister of Harold, the daughter of Godwine, lived in quasi-regal state, surrounded by a following purely English, with not a Norman name among the officers of her household. The bargain was made before the twenty-six witnesses in the up-flooring of the church; Mr. Freeman regards this as the triforium, and says, "as the up-floor was used for the transaction of business attended by many witnesses, we may suppose that it was a large, lofty upper story, such as is found in many early Norman minsters. The Church of Wilton, in short, followed the proportions of Waltham and Norwich, not those of Gloucester and Tewkesbury." It will thus be seen that the widowed Queen of S. Edward was living at the monastery in semi-regal state, but she is not mentioned as actually presiding over the house as abbess. This connection of Eadgyth with the monastery perhaps accounts for the tenderness shewn to the Abbey of Wilton by William the Conqueror. In *stanza* 1095 of the Chronicron we are told of William that "He lovede welle Seynt Edus Abbay, and meche gode to hit he oft tymes dede." Of William Rufus the chronicler has no good word to say. For the list of abbesses since the Conquest the writer has been enabled to make several additions from documents connected with the Monastery of Wilton, now preserved in the muniment room of Wilton House, he having lately had the opportunity of being present when the Commissioner for the Preservation of Historical Documents examined the records still existing at Wilton Abbey. The names of all the abbesses which were found in the MSS. of the collection were noted and are as complete as the limited opportunities of the writer would allow. By the kind courtesy of the Earl of Pembroke a few of these documents now appear in an epitomised form, to which seals of some interest are attached. These documents must not be taken to represent any important items in the collection, in which there seems to be nothing earlier than the twelfth century, but have been mainly selected on account of their seals; the information, however, they convey is not inconsiderable, and the names found as attesting witnesses will, at least, have some local interest.

The four great monastic establishments presided over by abbesses, which are found constantly referred to in mediæval times, occur in the following order:—Wilton, S. Mary's Winchester, Shaftesbury, and Barking. These abbesses were, at least on one occasion, summoned to sit in Parliament, although Fuller, in his *Church History*, states the contrary. (book vi.) The Abbess of Wilton was summoned to Parliament at Westminster, 34th Edw. I.[1]—1306, on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, for the purpose of treating upon an aid for making the King's eldest son a knight. The presentation of a nun to this monastery appears to have been a royal prerogative upon every coronation, according to charters printed by Dugdale.

Hawise, Abbess of Wilton, occurs twice in Pem. MSS. of about the middle of the twelfth century. To one of these charters is attached an impression of her seal in a fragmentary condition; it is a large pointed-oval seal of green wax, having a standing female figure with arms extended and holding what seems to be a key in her left hand. In these documents, which are apparently early in the reign of Henry II., the Church of S. Olave, as well as that of S. Edith, is mentioned, also a grant of land to R. Salvage at Fovant. Leland, in his Itinerary (vol. 6, p. 74, second ed., 1774), says that Robert Fitz-Hamond, in the time of Rufus was much connected with Tewkesbury Abbey—that of his four daughters, Hawisia was made Abbess of Wilton, and Cecilia Abbess of Shaftesbury. In Dugdale's list Cecilia is duly entered as having been made Abbess of Shaftesbury by Henry I. in 1107, and her name occurs again in 1135, but a curious mistake has been made as regards Hawisia. Leland was no doubt right in saying that she was made Abbess of Wilton, but Dugdale, both in his first and subsequent editions of the Monasticon, in the account of Tewkesbury Abbey, states that the two daughters of Fitz-Hamon were made Abbesses of Shaftesbury and Winton—instead of Wilton. From this confusion of the two places, Hawisia has hitherto been included amongst the Abbesses of S. Mary's, Winchester, and is so appropriated by all subsequent authorities as "Hawysia, about 1120." Fitz-Hamon, a

[1] Palgrave's *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. i., p. 164.

friend and follower of Rufus, was lord of the honour of Gloucester, and conqueror of the land of Glamorgan, he re-founded the Abbey of Tewkesbury and died there in 1107. His eldest daughter, Mabel, was regarded as his sole heiress; owing to her enormous possessions the husband selected for her was Robert, eldest natural son of Henry I.

During the war between Stephen and the Empress Matilda, Earl Robert of Gloucester attacked Stephen at Wilton, on July 1st, 1143, and drove him out. At this time Hawise, sister-in-law of Robert, was probably Abbess of Wilton. The date of her appointment is not known. Her age can be inferred from the fact that her elder sister, Mabel, was born about 1100, and was married to Robert about 1116 or 1117, certainly before 1119.[1] Hawise, the Abbess of Wilton, was the third daughter of Fitz-Hamon, who, as before mentioned, died in 1107. The statement that Cecilia was made Abbess of Shaftesbury by Henry I., in 1107, can hardly be correct, she must have been an infant at that time As Hutchins, in his County History of Dorset, gives the name of an Abbess Emma in 1125, and Cecilia Fitz-Hamon in 1135, there can be little doubt that the first date of 1107 is an error.

Alice occurs in a Pem. charter of the third Richard I.—1191-1192, between Alice, Abbess of Wilton, and the Bishop of Winchester, relating to a grant to Robert, son of Siward, of land at Chilhampton. This abbess is No. 1 of Hoare's list, who, however, gives the approximate date of "the beginning of the reign of Henry II."

Maria, Abbess of Wilton, is found in a Pem. charter in connection with the name of Roger de Vernon relating to lands at Chilmark, in the fifth, and again in the 6th, of Richard I.—1194-1195. Her name also occurs in the eighth of Richard I., 1197. This abbess Maria is No. 2 of Hoare's list, with the date 1189.

Ascelina, Abbess of Wilton, is found in a Pem. charter of a grant to one Thomas, in Ugford, early in the thirteenth century,

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[1] *The Land of Morgan, the chief Lord*, by G. T. Clark, Esq. Journal of the Archæological Institute, vol. 35, p. 4. In this and the preceding volume will be found many particulars of the life of Fitz-Hamon.

probably in the time of King John, as Hoare mentions her name (No. 3) with the date 1209.

Margaret. The name of this abbess occurs only once. See Hoare's list, No. 4, with the date of second of Henry III.—1217.

Matilda de la Mar. A charter of this abbess from the Pem. muniments, will be found summarized further on. It carries the seal of the abbess, as well as the conventual seal of the monastery (Nos. 2 and 5 of the plate). A somewhat similar document is printed by Dugdale, and repeated in Hoare. This abbess is No. 5 in Hoare's list, he says she died not long before Henry III.; that king deceased in 1272. The period of the seal would indicate a date of about 1275. Brown Willis gives the name of Matilda de la Mar as abbess, with the date 1372. This error arose from the fact of there being two abbesses Matilda. His reference, with that date, should have been to Matilda de Bokeland, about a century later.

Juliana Gifford. The name of this abbess occurs several times in the Pem. charters during the reign of Edward I. The temporalities of the monastery were restored to her in the fourth Edw. I.—1276. She is No. 6 of Hoare's list, who says that her death took place about 1295. During the period of Juliana Gifford's presidency, she was several times summoned by the king to supply her contingent for military service. In 1277, as we learn from Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, the Abbess of Wilton was summoned to send her service against Lewelin, Prince of Wales; muster at Worcester in eight days of S. John the Baptist, fifth of Edward I.—1277 (p. 196). Her name is afterwards entered upon the roll of the Constable and Earl Marshall, but no acknowledgment or performance of service recorded. In 1282 the abbess was again summoned to send her service against the Welsh; muster at Rhuddlan, on the morrow of S. Peter ad Vincula, 2nd August, the tenth of Edw. I. In pursuance of this summons, acknowledgment is made of the service of one knight's fee, performed on her behalf by one knight. In this case we get the name of the knight who served. "In 1282 Jacobus de Trwe or Trowe, Knight, performed military service due from the Abbess of Wilton." Muster at Rhuddlan as above (Palgrave Alp.

Digest., p. 871). It was under the presidency of this abbess that the scandalous affair occurred of the abduction of two nuns of the monastery by a knight, Osborn Gifford. For this offence he suffered a severe penance, a part of which was publicly performed in the churches and market places of Wilton and Shaftesbury. In Palgrave's Par. Writs, p. 336, we find the name of Osbertus Gifford returned as holding lands in Dorset and Somerset, twenty-eighth of Edw. I. Supposing this to be the culprit, and that his Dorset property was near to Shaftesbury, this would account for a part of his public penance being carried out at the latter place.

Lady Emma Blounde or Blount. The name of this abbess is not found in any previous list; her name occurs in a Pem. charter as having died second Edw. II.—1308-9 (may be earlier). This, no doubt, is the abbess of whom Hoare gives some particulars, but had not met with her actual name. It forms No. 7 of his list, he says her election is dated Forfar, twenty-fourth Edward I.—1295. In 1303 the abbess was summoned to send her service against the Scots; muster at Berwick-upon-Tweed at Whitsuntide, in the thirty-first of Edw. I.

Alice de Parham. The name of this abbess has not previously been met with in any list. It occurs in a Pembroke charter of the time of Edw. II. or III. A grant to John de Parham,[1] of Alvedistone, of a burgate of land. Witnessed by Matthew Wake,[2] Stephen of Bayeux, and others. This abbess is afterwards mentioned as having preceded Constance.

Constance de Percy. This abbess's name is found in a Pem. charter of the eighteenth Edw. II.—1324-5, and again on the sixth of Edw. III.—1332. She is named No. 8 in Hoare's list, as having succeeded her predecessor in 1321, but her name is met with in a

[1] In the twenty-fifth Edw. I.—1297—we find the name of John de Parham returned from the counties of Dorset and Somerset as holding lands or rents to the amount of £20 yearly, either in capite or otherwise, and as such summoned to perform military service in person, with horses and arms, &c., in parts beyond the seas. In the Nomina Villarum, 1335, John de Parham, with others, held lands at Alvediston.

[2] The family of Wake were lords of the manor of Ebbesbourne from the time of King John until the middle of the last century.

document belonging to the Corporation of Wilton, eleventh Edw. II.

Lucy. This abbess Lucy has not appeared before. Her name occurs in a Pem. charter of thirty-fifth of Edw. III.—1361. This must have been about the time of her death, as Hoare says that her successor, Sibilla Aucher, was elected in this year.

Sibilla Aucher. A document of this abbess, from the Pem. charters, dated from Wilton in 1371, with the principal portion of her beautiful seal attached (plate, No. 4) will be found further on. Her name is also met with, in conjunction with her co-nun, Elizabeth Strode, in the previous year. This abbess is No. 9 in Hoare's list; she was elected in 1361. The family of Aucher was established at Fisherton, hence the name of Fisherton Aucher, or Anger. A Margaret Auchier was elected Abbess of Shaftesbury in 1314, her name occurs again in 1318 and 1327. Johanna Aucher was consecrated Nun at Amesbury on Ascension Day, 1327 (see Jackson, *Wilts Mag.*, vol 18, p. 287).

Matilda de Bokeland. This abbess occurs in a Pem. charter of the fiftieth of Edw. III.—1376. It is also found in a MS. preserved in the British Museum (Cart. Harl., 45 a. 37) of forty-ninth Edw. III.—1375. The purport of this latter document, together with a re-production of her seal (plate, No. 6), will be given subsequently. The name of this abbess is not found in Hoare's list, although he afterwards prints her name in some extracts from the public records. Brown Willis, in his scanty list of the Wilton Abbesses, quotes "Matilda de la Mar 1372." This error, as before mentioned, no doubt arose from there being two Abbesses Matilda. The Matilda of 1372 was a Bokeland, and not a de la Mar. The discipline of the monastery had at this time considerably deteriorated, as appears by a long episcopal ordinance of Bishop Wyville, in 1379, for its future regulation. One rule was that no nun was to possess a *seal*, and any one who kept a seal was to be punished as a *proprietary*.

After the year 1400 the list of abbesses, as given by Hoare, is pretty complete. The vacancies to be supplied occur between Radegunda, A.D. 871, and Ælfgyth, 955. Also the names of the two abbesses who governed between Wulftrude and Bryghtwyde. After the conquest there is a period to be bridged over between the

Saxon Ælfyne and the Norman Hawise. It is quite possible that some other names might have to be added to the following list, but probably to no great extent beyond those above mentioned. The dates attached to each name represent some period in their incumbency when they held the office, and in some cases the time of their death.

Radfgunda . .	A.D. 871
Ælfgyth . . .	955
Wulftrude . . .	968-1000
——— . . .	
——— . . .	
Bryghtwyde . . .	✠ 1064
Ælfyne . . .	1064-1068
Hawise Fitz-Hamon . .	? 1140-1160
Alice . . .	1192
Maria . . .	1194-1199
Ascelina . . .	1209
Margaret . . .	1217
Matilda de la Mar . .	✠ 1272
Juliana Gifford . .	1276-1295
Lady Emma Blount . .	✠ 1308
Alice de Parham . .	1308-1318
Constance de Percy . .	1318-1332
Lucy . . .	✠ 1361
Sibilla Aucher . .	1361
Matilda de Bokeland . .	1376
Johanna . . .	1400-1407
Christiana Doulre . .	1416-1441
Christiana Codeford . .	1441-1448
Isabella Lambard . .	1448-1464
Edith Barough . .	1464
Alice Comelonde . .	✠ 1485
Cecilia Willughby . .	1485-1528
Isabella Jordayn . .	1528
Cecilia Bodenham . .	1534-1539

The following documents, which are given chronologically in an

epitomised form from the original Latin, are now preserved at Wilton House. The additions are, one charter from the Harleian coll. in the British Museum, to which the seal of the Abbess Matilda de Bokeland is attached, and two other documents bearing different seals of the Mayors of Wilton, which form part of the archives of the Corporation. The Hospital of S. Giles, near Wilton, to which the first document relates, was established originally for the support of lepers by Adelicia, queen of Henry II. It was from an early period under the control of the Corporation of Wilton, it was preserved at the dissolution, and re-built by the Mayor and Corporation in 1624. It remained on its original site in the adjoining parish of Fuggleston S. Peter until about fifty years ago, when it was pulled down, and its locality taken into Wilton Park. The hospital was again re-built some few hundred yards to the west. It still retains a prior, but without a chapel, as well as the old number of inmates supported from the original grant, which is still administered by the Corporation of Wilton. The position of the two acres of land mentioned in the charter can be pretty well ascertained. The ancient manor of Washerne was situated on the right bank of the Nadder, near the abbey. This identical field of "Two acres of arable land situated in the field called Washerne," is found again mentioned amongst the property belonging to the hospital at the time of the dissolution, in the "Certificate of the State of Colleges, Hospitals, &c.," preserved in the Augmentation Office, dated thirty-seventh Henry VIII.—1545, and printed in Hoare's Branch and Dole, p. 130. In the twenty-fourth of Edw. I. allusion is made to "the Friars lepers of S. Giles' without Wilton," and in the fifth of Edw. III. occurs a confirmation of Richard Holdych as prior or custodian of SS. Giles and Anthony, near Wilton. The mutilated seal attached to this document (plate, No. 10) is no doubt the original seal of the hospital. That in present use is probably early in the fifteenth century; it bears the figure of S. Giles under a Gothic canopy, with the legend "S' donus elimosinare Sc̄i egedi iuxta Wilton." It is engraved in Hoare's account of Wilton.

1. Grant by John [ ] called guardian [dictus custos] of the Hospital of St. Giles without Wilton, and the Brethren and Sisters of the same Hospital

to John Goldrun,* burgess of Wilton, and Johanna, his wife, of two acres of arable land, held by the Hospital by grant from Ralph Harvey and Matilda, his wife, lying at la Foulcflowe in the field of Wasserne [Washern], between land of the Abbess of Wilton on either side: the same to be held in perpetuity for a payment in hand of 36*s.* 8*d.*, and a yearly service of a rose at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Witnesses, Hugh de Wyly, steward of the Abbess of Wilton, Thomas Linginere, bailiff of Wasserne, Robert Bede, Robert de la barne, John, son of Eadmund Goldrun, Ralph Hervey, Robert Chapelein and others. XIIIth Cent. *Latin.*

Oval seal, bearing a full-length figure, the right hand holding a staff, the left in front of the body, holding a book. Legend..... [EGI]DII . AB[BATIS]..... ? Sigillum Sancti Egidii Abbatis. Brown wax, the head, feet, and left side of the figure broken away. (Plate, No. 10.)

Attached to the next document a considerable portion of the seal of the Abbess Matilda de la Mar is preserved (plate, No. 5), as well as the old conventual seal of the monastery (plate, No. 2). This well-known seal of the Abbey of Wilton is one of the few existing examples of Anglo-Saxon seals. It has been engraved by Sir R. C. Hoare and fully described and figured in the Archæologia, it is noticed in Dugdale and again by Sir F. Madden in the thirteenth volume of the Journal of the Archæological Institute. There is some doubt as to the exact date of this seal bearing the name of Eadgythe. The engravings above-mentioned were made up out of two imperfect impressions then known; one of these was taken from the Harleian charter in the British Museum, already referred to in the notice of the Abbess Matilda de la Mar; the other impression was taken from the instrument of surrender by the last Abbess in the reign of Henry VIII. As the label of another missing seal is attached to this Harleian charter, the editors of the New Monasticon suppose that it might have been a second conventual seal of the monastery, but there can be little doubt that the seal wanting was that of the abbess herself. They also ascribe a wrong date—that

* The name of John Golrund is found amongst other tenants of the Earl of Cornwall at Wilton concerned in a dispute relating to some foreign resident at Wilton who had gone without license to sell and buy at the fair at Britford, third Edw. I.—1275. Hoare's Hund. Cawden, p. 52. A John Goldron or Goldre also occurs as one of the persons returned from Wilton to serve in the Parliament at Lincoln, twenty-ninth Edw. I.—1301.

of Edw. III.—to this charter. The autotype plate is given because, though imperfect, it is in better condition than the other known examples. Another impression is attached to the last of the Pembroke documents now printed, of Cecily Bodenham, in 1536, where the seal shows evidence of much use. The matrix no longer exists.

A valuable addition to the very few known examples of Anglo-Saxon seals has lately been made by the discovery of a very fine one at Wallingford, now in the possession of Mr. A. W. Franks. It is circular in form, and has a subject and legends on both sides with a richly-decorated sort of handle at the top, somewhat like the original termination of the Wilton seal. The material is some kind of bone or ivory.

2. Grant by Matilda [*de la Mar*] Abbess of Wilton, and the Convent of the same to Richard de Muchelne and Beatrice, his wife, of a piece of land, at one time belonging to Richard Gosny, in Ugeford St. James [Ugford St. James], situated over against the chapel of the said saint: the same to be held, together with common of pasture for two cattle, in perpetuity, at a yearly rent to the Convent of ten shillings sterling. Witnesses, Sir John de Langport, then our steward, Geoffrey de Trowe,* William be Bissopestre, Henry Tut, David de Draytone, John Turgys, Nicholas Curthayn, Robert Ysembre, Peter le Butelyr, and many others. *Temp.* Edw. I. *Latin.*

Two seals attached. The first, an oval seal, bearing a full-length figure of an abbess, the right hand holding a pastoral staff, the left in front of the body, holding a book. On each side of the figure is a small vesical compartment, that on the right containing a head, probably of S. Edith, that on the left being almost entirely broken away. Legend.....ISSE..... Green wax, the edges and one side broken away. (Plate, No. 5.) The second, a round seal, bearing a $\frac{3}{4}$-length figure of S. Eadgitha or Edith, habited as an abbess, face in profile to the right; the right hand raised in benediction, the left holding a book. Legend [+ΣI] ꓶIL± EADꓶXÐE REꓶA[L' ADELPÆ:] Sigillum Eadgyðe, regalis adelphe. Green wax, edges injured (plate, No. 2.)

* Geoffrey de Trowe was of the very ancient family of that name settled in the Chalk valley long before the Conquest. Trow, under the name of Trogan, occurs in the description of the boundaries of the lands granted by King Edwie to the Abbess of Wilton. According to the Testa de Nevill, this Geoffrey de Trowe and Alexander de Trowe then held *Trow* of the Abbess of Wilton by serjeanty. This ancient manor and estate, still known by the name of Trow, extends itself to the parishes of Alvediston, Fifield Bavant, and Broad Chalke. See Hoare's Hun. Chalk. In 1282 Jacobus de Trowe knight, probably another member of this family, performed military service due from the Abbess of Wilton. See Palgrave's Alph. Digest., p. 871.

3. Grant by Richard de Waledene to William de Tydolueshyde [Tilshead] and John, his son and heir, of all the lands, tenements, etc., which he had by grant from Richard Beaufo in the town of Chylmark [Chilmark], together with all his pasture in the same town : the same to be held in perpetuity from the chief lords of the fee by the grantors and the heirs of the said John in tail, with remainder, in default, to Robert, his brother, and his heirs in tail, and in default, to the said William, and his heirs or assigns. Witnesses, Thomas de Havenebare, William de Colyngborne, Robert Bigge, John Olyver, Geoffrey Mauduyt, John de Brudesarde, William Gerard, and others. Dated, Chylmark, Thursday, the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist [25th April], 18 Edw. II. [1325[. *Latin.*

Small round seal, bearing a lion's head enraged, between three indistinct charges, possibly owls. Brown wax. (Plate, No. 8.)

The following document (No. 4), which is preserved in the Wilton corporation chest, has already been printed in its original Latin form, together with some other Wilton charters; these will be found in the seventeenth vol. of the Journal of the Archæological Association, p. 311. This Will shows the close connection between a layman of the middle of the fourteenth century and the Church. In addition to the mayor's seal, the remains of another, probably belonging to the Court of Probate, is attached. It bears a portion of a standing figure, together with a few letters of the legend, but are too indistinct to be made out.

The seal of the Mayor of Wilton, used in 1348, is probably not the first made, but it is the earliest now known. In the other Wilton document (No. 10), dated 1416, a new seal of the mayor appears, somewhat larger and less well made. The silver matrix of the mayor's seal now in use is circular, with the same subject of the coronation of the Virgin, probably late in the fifteenth century. This, together with the fine common seal of the borough, still used, is engraved in Hoare's Hundred of Branch and Dole, p. 67. In re-engraving the seal, the subject was apparently less distinctly given, for at the Herald's Visitation for Wilts, in 1623, the following was allowed to be the arms of the borough : Two Saxon kings *seiant* in Gothic niches, crowned, with sceptres in their hands, &c. In the Town Hall of Wilton is an old painted and framed representation of the seal with the subject so given in the form of two nondescript figures, crowned and seated under Gothic niches. It is somewhat curious that a misrepresentation of the personal seal of the mayor

should have been allowed as the arms of the borough in 1623, whilst the matrix of the fine common seal of the town was in existence then, as now. The vicissitudes of this unfortunate mayor's seal do not end here. In Britton's Beauties of England and Wales, under the head of Wilton, we learn that, "In the Town Hall of Wilton is a drawing of the great seal affixed to the charter of Wilton. It is commonly supposed to be that of William and Mary; but the Rev. Mr. Coxe says, the figures are evidently those of Henry VII. and his queen Elizabeth."

4. Will of John Fromond, burgess of Wilton, bequeathing his body to be buried in the cemetery of St. Nicholas at Wilton;—item, to the fabric of the Church of St. Mary at Salisbury 12d;—item, to the fabric of the Church of St. Edith at Wilton, 12d.;—item to Johanna, daughter of Richard de Ugeford, a cottage with curtilage adjacent, &c., in Wilton, situate in a plot in Kyngesbure street acquired by the testator from Richard Beleiaumbe, burgess of Wilton, the same to be held by her and the lawful heirs of her body, of the chief lords of the fee for the accustomed rents and services, with the obligation to provide yearly four pounds of wax for a torch [torchea] for the great altar of St. Edith at Wilton, and, in default of such heirs, to remain to the right heirs of the testator on the same terms;—item, that four great torches be placed about his body on the day of his burial, the one to remain at the great altar of St. Edith, the second at the altar of St. Mary in the said Church, the third at the altar of the Holy Cross nigh the altar of St. John the Baptist in the same Church, and the fourth for the Church of St. Michael at Letherstocke [Laverstoke]; item, to Clarice, his wife, all his tenements, rents, &c., in Wilton for her life, with remainder to the Mayor and burgesses of Wilton for the time being for ever; item the residue to Clarice, his wife, to carry out his will for the health of his soul;—and, finally, 20s. to be distributed to the poor on the day of his burial;—Clarice, his wife, and William Maunsel to be executors. Dated Tuesday before the Feast of St. Vincent [22nd January] 1348 [9]. *Latin.*

Proved at Salisbury, 24 Feb., 1348 [9].

At a court held at Wilton, Wednesday after the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (8th September), twenty-third Edward III. (1349), before John de Westbury, steward of Wilton, and Robert Sirman, mayor, approved and lawfully pronounced, seisin being delivered according to the tenor of the bequests.

Attached is an oval seal (1⅛in. × 1in.) bearing a representation of the Coronation of the Virgin, within a double Gothic niche, in the centre of the canopy a shield of the arms of England (gu.) three lions passant gardent (or), below, extending to the edge of the seal,

a half-length figure in adoration. Legend S MAIORITATIS BVRGI DE WILTŌ. Olive green wax. (Plate, No. 3.)

A fragment of a second seal also remaining, in green wax, probably that of the Probate Court.

5. Quit-claim by Thomas Tydolueshide [Tilshead] to Sibil [*Aucher*] Abbess of Wilton, and the Convent of the same of his common of pasture for 16 cattle, 200 sheep and 27 pigs, and of all other his common of pasture whatsoever on the soil of the said Abbess within her manor of Chilmerk. Witnesses, Sir Thomas West,* Laurence de St. Martin,† William de Bermygham, knights, Walter atte Berghe. Nicholas de Bonham, John de Harnham,‡ Richard de Vernoun,§ William Waspail, and many others. Dated Chilmark, Thursday, after the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle [21th Sept.] 38 Edw. III. [1364]. *Latin.*

Small round seal, bearing a shield of arms, three wolves' heads erased. Legend SIGILL'V WILL'I TIDOLSIDE Sigillum Willelmi Tidolside. Red wax, sunk in green. (Plate, No. 9.)

In the legend of the seal attached to the next document (No. 6) there is some indistinctness in one of the letters of the name; it should probably be read Upton. There is Upton Lucy in the Chalk Valley, also Upton Lovel, near Heytesbury; both these Uptons at an early period became the property of the Abbess of Wilton. John de Upton was owner of the estate at Upton in Berwick S. John in 1343. He was also concerned in some dispute relating to the deer in Cranborne Chase in 1346. Hoare's Hun. Chalk, p. 94.

6. Quit-claim by Nicholas de Bonham to John de Belameslonde and William Hughe, chaplain, of all the lands, tenements, etc., which they and he had lately by grant from Thomas de Tydolueshyde within the towns of Chilmarke and Neotheramptone [Netherhampton]. Witnesses, Thomas West, Laurence de St. Martin, William de Bermyghem, knights, Henry Stourmy,‖ Walter atte Berghe,¶

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* Sir Thomas West held lands at Wyck near Tisbury, also at Fonthill and Swallowcliff. A short account of the family of West will be found in Hoare's Hun. Dunworth, p, 68.

† This Lawrence de St. Martin was son of Sir Lawrence Martin, who possessed Steeple Langford and held property at Knighton. He died in 1386. See Hoare's Hun. Chalk, p. 142.

‡ John de Harnham held lands at Britford. See Hoare's Hun. Cawdon, p. 48.

§ Richard de Vernon, of Horningsham, was living in 1333. Hoare's Hun. Heytesbury, p. 48.

‖ Henry Stourmy of Wulfhall and Figheldean, was at this time sheriff of the county, which office he filled for five years, from 1361 to 1366. He died in 1381-2, and was probably son of Henry de Esturmey, who was possessed of the manor of Cowsfield Sturmy at his death in 1349. See Hoare's Hun. Frustfield, p. 75. His seal will be found engraved in *Wilts Mag.*, vol. 2, p 387.

¶ Walter atte Berghe was bailiff to the Bishop of Salisbury in 1360. For a long series of years the bailiffs of the Bishops of Salisbury took precedency of the mayors of the city.

Richard de Vernon, William Waspail,* John Lyngmere. and many others. Dated Chilmark, Sunday before the Feast of S. Martin [11th November], 39 Ed. III. [1365]. *Latin.*

Small round seal, bearing a shield of arms, fretty, on a chief a lion passant. Legend ✠ S NICHOLAI DE UPTON (?). Sigillum Nicholas de Ufton (?) or Upton (?). (Plate, No. 11.)

7. Grant by John de Belameslonde and William Hughe, chaplain, to the Church of St. Edith at Wilton, and the Abbess and Convent of the same, of two messuages, a mill, four virgates of land, and eight shillings of rent in Chilmark, together with the reversion of a messuage and two virgates of land in Netherhampton held of them for life by Thomis Tydolueshide and Johanna, his wife. Witnesses, Thomas West, Laurence de St. Martin, William be Bermygham, knights, Henry Stourmy, Walter atte Borghe, Nicholas de Bonham, Richard de Vernoun, William Waspail, and many others. Dated Chilmark, Monday before the Feast of St. Clement [17th November], 39 Edw. III. [1365]. *Latin.*

Two seals. First, a round seal, within a quatrefoil border a heart; from this spring three branches, supporting two birds, billing. Legend TRWE · BE · LOVE · TRIK · TRWE. True be Love, trik[1] true. Red wax. (Plate, No. 7.)

Second seal, oval, bearing a full-length figure of St. Mary Magdalene in the Wilderness. Legend, MARIA MAGDALENA. Red wax. (Plate, No. 1.)

8. Letters of attorney from Sibil [Aucher], Abbess of Wilton, and the Convent of the same, to Nicholas de Bonham, their steward, to receive seisin of the manor of Foffunte [Fovant], Co. Wilts, lately belonging to Hugh Strode, and granted to the abbey by John Gyldene and William Hughe, chaplain. Dated Wilton, 6 Mar., 45 Edw. III. [1371]. *Latin.*

Oval seal, bearing, within a richly-ornamented Gothic niche, a full-length figure of an abbess, the right hand holding a pastoral staff, the left holding a book; below, a shield of arms, Ermine, on a chief azure, three lions rampant or. (family of Aucher.) The edge and both sides broken away. Green wax. (Plate, No. 4.)

Brit. Mus., Harley Charter, 45 A. 37.

9. Statement by Margerie, widow of Water Dun, that Sir Renaud of Remmesbury [Ramsbury, Co. Wilts] purchased lands in Portone [Porton, Co. Wilts]

* William Waspail of Smallbrook within the parish of Warminster. Some notice of this ancient family will be found in Hoare's Hun. Warminster, p. 45.

[1] *Trig*=tight, true, faithful (Northern). *Trig*=sound and firm (Dorset). *Halliwell's Archaic Dictionary.*

and gave them to John Folyot and Jhone [Joan], his wife, cousin of Sir Renaud, and the heirs of their bodies, with reversion in default;—that John Folyot had three daughters, of whom one was a "munechon," the second, Margerie, married Roger Payne's father and bore Roger and Nichol, and the third Emmote, married Henry Dun, and bore Walter and John; that afterwards Roger Payne married Marione, Walter Dun's bastard sister and by her had Robert, born in "spoushod," and Lettuce and Alice, bastards, of whom Lettuce was married to John Janequin and had Ansteise and Mold; that Roger [Payne] and Robert [his son], the rightful heirs, died without heirs and the land therefore came to Walter Dun;—that Walter Dun married Margerie, who survives, and by her had Robert, in the case of whose death without heirs the lands revert to Sir Renaud of Remmesbury.

Deposed in presence of Matilda [de Bokeland] Abbess of Wilton, Henry Haversham, Mayor, John Cole, Nicholas Vyniter, Thomas Wysdom, and Henry Bount, of Wilton; and attested by the seals of the Prioress and of the Borough of Wilton, at the request of John Rammesbury, Thursday before the Feast of St. Hilary [13th January] 49 Edw. III. [1375].

Attached is a pointed oval seal, bearing a full-length figure of the abbess, with a crozier in the right hand and a book in the left, standing within a finely-carved Gothic niche; below, a shield of arms, (gules), three lions rampant (argent), on a canton (sable) a fret (or). The legend and remainder of the seal, destroyed. Dark green wax. (Plate, No. 6.)

The seal of the borough is entirely destroyed.

10. Testament of the Mayor, Burgesses, &c., of Wilton, that John Mundy, of Wilton, is a burgess and member of the Merchants' Guild, and, by virtue of royal charters to the borough, quit of all toll, passage, panage, pontage, murage, brithot, chidwyte, yaregive, kenerage and scotale. Dated, Wilton, Thursday after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist [25th April], 4 Hen. V. [1416]. *Latin.*

Attached is an oval seal ($1\frac{3}{8}$in. $\times 1\frac{1}{16}$in.) the design an inferior copy of the seal (plate, No. 3), apparently without the half-length figure in adoration. Legend S. MAIORITATIS BVRGI DE WILTON. A bad impression, in red wax.

A second seal has entirely perished.

11. Grant by Cecilia Bodenham, Abbess of the Monastery of Wilton, and the Convent of the same, patrons of the prebend or rectory of Staunton, in the diocese of Salisbury, to Thomas Legh, LL.D., of the right of presentation to the said prebend or parish Church when it shall next become vacant. Dated, Wilton, 7 May, 28 Hen. VIII., 1536. *Latin.*

Seal of Wilton Abbey as in plate, No. 2. Legend + SIGILL' EADGYÐE REGAL ADELPÆ.

Cicely Bodenham was a nun in the Priory of Kington S. Michael

in 1511. She was of a family settled at Bodenham in the Hundred of Downton. In the stained chancel window, given by herself to Kington Church, Aubrey says there was remaining in his time, the greater part of her picture in her cope and robes (*Wilts Mag.*, vol. 4, p. 55).

There was also connected with the Abbey of Wilton the Hospital of S. Mary Magdalene. Sir R. C. Hoare states that nothing was known of this foundation beyond a notice in one of Aubrey's MSS., and that if such an one ever did exist, it was certainly lost before the Reformation. In the Chronicon Vilodunense, written about 1420, it is mentioned as existing at that time, being endowed for the maintenance of twelve poor beadsmen to pray for the soul of S. Edith (*stanza* 529). It is probable, however, that no separate foundation or grants for the establishment were ever made, as we find the following entry of sums paid, amongst others, to persons connected with the monastery at the time of the dissolution, and receiving benefit from it :—"Thirteen poor Magdalens chosen yearly to pray for the souls of the Founders, and maintained on the alms of the monastery, £19 . 10 . 0." This Magdalen Hospital is really still in being—at least in name. Until about fifty years ago a range of five almshouses existed near the entrance to the abbey, at a place called Armoury or Almonry corner. They were known as the Morlands or Maudlins. In 1831 the establishment was removed some distance to the north, at the junction of the Wilton and Warminster roads. The present well-built almshouses are occupied by the same number of inmates, being old servants or retainers of the Pembroke family. A brass plate with the following inscription is placed over the entrance :—"This Hospital of Saint Mary Magdalen of Wilton was rebuilt on its present site in fulfilment of the intentions of George Augustus, eleventh Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, by Catherine, his widow and sole executrix. A.D. 1831."

Another early religious foundation at Wilton was that of the Hospital of S. John, closely adjoining, but not within the parish of Wilton. It occurs in the records as being dedicated as early as A.D. 1217. It is said to have been founded by one Hubert, one of whose name was Bishop of Sarum in 1189. It seems to have been

connected in some way with the Knights Hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem. "It might have been one of those *Hospices* which were erected for the convenience of the religious when travelling, and where the chief duties of the residing Prior were to afford provisions, rest, and the means of devotion to those brethren whose necessities required them." In the eighteenth Edward II.—1324-5—JOHN DE NORRUGGE was Prior of S. John's. At some time during the reign of Edw. III. the prior was ROGER HUDDE, he is mentioned as "Magister et fratribus hospitalis Sancti Johannis extra portam de Wylton." Again in the nineteenth Rich. II—1395-6—GEOFFRY was the "humble" prior of the house of St. John, Wilton. Being considered in the light of a charitable institution at the time of the Reformation, it was not dissolved. Considerable remains, including the chapel, are still extant. Here the religious offices continue to be said by the prior for the use of the inmates, who occupy the hospital residences adjoining, re-built hy the liberality of the late prior. The original seal of the Priory of S. John no longer exists. The present seal in use is no doubt a copy of an earlier one, it is circular in form and apparently of the last century. It bears the *Agnus Dei* with the legend SIGILLVM : HOSPITALIS : SANCTI : IOHANNIS : IVXTA : WILTON.

Of all the religious foundations once existing at Wilton, one only has left no trace behind it. The Black Friar preachers were established in Wilton in or before 1245. They erected a church and convent, but removed their establishment to Fisherton about 1280, to which Henry Fitz-Aucher granted lands in 1293.

END OF VOL. XIX.

H. F. BULL, Printer and Publisher, 4, Saint John Street, Devizes.

WILTSHIRE

Archæological and Natural History Society.

1st JANUARY, 1881.

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Account of Receipts and Disbursements for year ending 31st December, 1880.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DR.

1880.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1st.	To Balance brought from last account	133	14	9
Dec. 31st.	,, Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions received from Members during the year 195 17 0			
	,, Transfer from Life Membership Account..... ..... 2 13 7			
		198	10	7
	,, Cash received for Sale of Magazines.....	19	8	2
	,, Ditto ditto for "Jackson's Aubrey"	8	15	0
	,, Ditto ditto for Admission to the Museum	7	15	6
	,, Ditto Donation by W. Stancomb, Esq., High Sheriff, 1880	10	10	0
		£378	14	0

CR.

1880.	DISBURSEMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Dec 31st.	By Cash, sundry Payments, including Postage, Carriage, &c.....	11	12	10
	,, Ditto Printing, and Stationery	13	5	0
	,, Printing and Engraving, &c., for Magazine, No. 55..... .54 12 4			
	,, Ditto ditto No. 56.....52 18 3			
		107	10	7
	,, Furniture and Fittings at Museum 18 11 6			
	,, Miscellaneous expenses ditto.. 6 0 5			
	,, Attendance at ditto 18 4 0			
	,, Insurance 4 19 4			
	,, Property and Land Tax 1 19 0			
		49	14	3
	,, Commission, &c.	20	6	0
	,, Balance	176	5	4
		£378	14	0

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

DR.

1880.		£	s	d.
Jan. 1st.	To Balance brought forward.....	26	9	5
Dec 31st.	,, Bank Interest	0	6	7
		£26	16	0

CR.

1880.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31st.	By one-tenth to General Income Account....	2	13	7
	,, Balance	24	2	5
		£26	16	0

July 25th, 1881.
Audited and found correct,
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WILLIAM NOTT,
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MAP OF A HUNDRED SQUARE MILES ROUND ABURY:

With a Key to the British and Roman Antiquities occurring there.

BY THE REV. A. C. SMITH,

Rector of Yatesbury, and Hon. Secretary of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

THIS work, the materials of which have been accumulating for twenty-five years, is the result of innumerable rides and rambles over the Downs of North Wilts; and deals with one of the most important archæological Districts in Europe. It will be published and issued to subscribers by the Marlborough College Natural History Society, and it will consist of two parts:—

First.—The *Great Map*—78 inches by 48 inches, on the scale of 6 linear inches, or 36 square inches, to the mile; it comprises 100 sqnare miles round Abury, and includes the great plateau of the Downs of North Wilts, extending from Oliver's Camp, on Roundway Hill, on the west, to Mildenhall on the east; and from Broad Hinton on the north, to the Pewsey Vale on the south. The district thus mapped measures 13 miles from west to east, and 8 miles from north to south. Every square mile, marked off with faint lines, lettered with a capital letter and numbered, will show the Barrows, Camps, Roads, Dykes, Enclosures, Cromlechs, Circles, and other British and Roman Stone- and Earth-works of that district; every such relic, being lettered with a small letter in its own square, is readily found and easily referred to. The Map will be printed in six colours, viz., the Antiquities in red, the Roads in brown, the Lanes and Down Tracks in green, the Sarsen Stones in yellow, and the Streams and Ponds in blue.

Second.—The *Key* to the Great Map,—which is by far the most important part of the work and will form a general "Guide to the British and Roman Antiquities of North Wilts,"—will be a volume of large quarto size, and will contain the whole of the large Map in fifteen sections, measuring 18 inches by 12, and four supplementary sections, each measuring 6 inches by 12. The Letterpress will contain some account of each of the Antiquities, with references to and extracts from the best authorities, as well as figures of various Urns and other objects found in the Barrows, views of the Cromlechs, plans of the Camps, &c. An Index Map, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile, coloured, numbered, lettered, and divided like the Great Map, will accompany the volume; and the whole will be a general account of the Antiquities of North Wilts, inasmuch as the district thus delineated embraces nearly all the remains of earliest times which exist in the northern portion of the County.

Subscribers' names and addresses (a list of which will be published with the Index) will be received by the Rev. T. A. Preston, *The Green, Marlborough*. The cost of the Large Map and Key complete will be, to Subscribers, One Guinea. Any copies which remain (after all the Subscribers have been served) will be offered to the public at an advanced price, viz., for the sheets of the Great Map only, 10*s*.; for the Key only, 20*s*.; or, for the whole, 28*s*.

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